

Péter Hajdú



THE SAMOYED PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

Indiana University Publications Uralic and Altaic Series Volume 14

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THE SAMOYED PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

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by Péter Hajdú



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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

A comprehensive survey of the Samoyed peoples and languages by Péter Hajdú first appeared as a series of articles in a Hungarian linguistic periodical, Magyar Nyelvőr (Vol. 73, pp. 9-13, 64-68, 225-231, 336-340), which were then assembled and reprinted together, that same year, as Publication 76 of the Hungarian Linguistic Society (Budapest, 1949).

This volume is an extensively revised and expanded version of the earlier survey. It has been translated into English by Marianne Esztergár and Attila P. Csanyi and prepared for publication by Elaine K. Ristinen, with his assistance. It differs materially from the English translation by Ervin Kapos of the earlier version, which was edited by Eleanor L. Sebeok for the Human Relations Area Files in 1955-56 under subcontract with the undersigned as Principal Investigator. The HRAF version, with that organization's permission, has, to a limited extent, served as a basis for this volume. Professor Hajdú revised and expanded his work in 1961 within the framework of the American Council of Learned Societies' program of research and studies in Uralic and Altaic subjects.

May 24, 1962

Thomas A. Sebeok

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Thousands of years ago the ancestors of both the present Finno-Ugrians and the Samoyeds lived together in their Uralic homeland. Linguistics has designated them and their language Proto-Uralic. Migration of the Samoyeds in the third or fourth millenium B.C. disrupted Uralic unity. Thus the Finno-Ugrians and the Samoyeds parted ways. However, the fact that the present-day Samoyed languages and the Finno-Ugric languages can be traced back to a common origin, and the fact that the Samoyed languages have preserved many of the characteristics of the original language that have disappeared from the Finno-Ugric languages, vouch for the importance of research into the Samoyed languages. With the aid of the Samoyed languages, many phenomena can be explained which could not be clarified solely on the evidence provided by Finno-Ugric languages. Moreover, Samoyedic studies are of crucial importance from yet another standpoint. There is much to indicate that the Samoyeds played a great role in the development of the culture of northern Siberia. Furthermore, an investigation of the contacts between the Samoyeds and certain Paleosiberian peoples may open new avenues to researchers studying the riddle of the Paleosiberian peoples and the history of Siberia.

1962

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

This volume is the unaltered edition of The Samoyed Peoples and Languages published first in 1963 by the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. It would have been of course very useful to revise some details of my treatise on the occasion of this new edition, but in lack of time I had to give up this idea. Still an Errata list is added to the book which contains the most disturbing misprints of the 1963 edition. For further information about Samoyed languages, see my Chrestomathia Samoiedica (Budapest, 1968).

March 9, 1968.

P. Hajdú

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1. THE DISTRIBUTION, HABITAT, AND NUMBER OF THE SAMOYEDS

1. The 30,000 persons who comprise the Samoyed peoples live scattered over an area that is enormous according to Asian, let alone European, concepts. Their habitat begins at the White Sea in the west, and extends through the tundras that lie along the Kara Sea and the northern Arctic Sea, as far to the east as Khatanga¹ Bay, right of the base of the Taymyr Peninsula. Their habitat is bounded on the north by the Arctic Sea and its coastal islands and on the south by the Sayan Mountains.

Since the time of Castrén, it has been customary to distinguish five Samoyed peoples: Nenets (Yurak), Enets (Yenisey), Nganasan (Tavgi), Sel'kup, and Kamas. The first three represent the northern and the other two the southern Samoyed group.

The most numerous of these peoples is the Nenets, or "Yurak Samoyeds." Most of the Nenets live in the northern part of eastern Europe and western Siberia: on the tundra region extending from the mouth of the Northern Dvina to the mouth of the Yenisey; on the Kanin Peninsula, on the Little Tundra (Malaya Zemlya) between the Mezen' and Pechora, on the Great Tundra (Bol'shaya Zemlya) situated between the Pechora and the Ural Mountains, on the Yamal Peninsula, on the delta region of the Ob', along the Nadym, lower Pur, lower Taz, and lower Yenisey, and on the tundras between them, on marshlands as well as on the islands near the coast (Kolguyev, Vaygach, Novaya Zemlya, Belyy). A small group also lives in the forest region north of the middle Ob' (on the upper and middle course of the Pur, the upper Agan, the upper Taz, and the watershed of the northern tributaries of the Vakh). The members of the latter group are called Forest Nenets ("Forest Yurak"). In their way of life and their dialect,

they differ greatly from the more numerous Tundra Nenets ("Tundra Yurak"). Administratively, they now live in the Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets, and Taymyr national okrugs.

During the summer, the majority of the Enets, the group known as "Tundra Yenisey Samoyeds," wander between the left bank of the Yenisey and the Yenisey Gulf, or more precisely, on the tundras between the left bank of the Yenisey and the Pyasina River, in the western part of the Taymyr Peninsula. During the winter they stay on the grove tundras between the left tributaries of the Yenisey and Pyasino Lake, situated on the Kheta River on the Taymyr Peninsula. Smaller groups of the Enets (known as "Forest Yenisey Samoyeds") are forest dwellers, on the taiga region south of the Dudinka. They are divided into four groups as follows: the Maddu (formerly also called "Khantaysk Samoyed"), the Bay (formerly called "Baykha") the Muggáddi and the Yuchi (formerly referred to as "Karasin"). The Maddu as well as the majority of the Muggáddi and Bay are tundra dwellers. The Yuchi, as well as a minority of the Muggáddi and a few families of the Bay tribe, belong to the forest groups.²

The third northern Samoyed group — also the northernmost people of the Soviet Union — is the Nganasan ("Tavgi Samoyeds"). They live in the enormous Taymyr national district, 860,000 square kilometers in area, near the Dolgan, Yakut, and Tungus peoples. The Nganasan are divided into two tribes. The Avam tribe lives in the western part of the Taymyr Peninsula (one part of it, the Pyasino Avam, nomadize all the year round in the valley of the Pyasina River; another part, the Taymyr Avam, wander along the Dudypta³ and Boganida⁴ Rivers during the winter, and in the summer roam in the valley of the Taymyr River, which flows northward from the interior of the peninsula).

The Vadeyev tribe wanders on the tundras located on the eastern part of the peninsula, between the Kheta River, Taymyr Lake and Khatanga Bay.⁵

The only remaining representatives of the southern Samoyeds are the Sel'kup ("Ostyak Samoyeds"). Today the majority of the Sel'kup who speak their mother tongue live along the Taz and its tributaries, as well as along the Turukhan and the Yeloguy (both left-side tributaries of the

Yenisey). This northern branch, however, has only been living here since the seventeenth century. Before that, all of the Sel'kup lived along the Middle Ob' and its tributaries (Narym, Tym, Ket, Vasyugan, Parabel'), on the section of the Ob' which is situated between the Chulym and the Vakh. At present there still are Sel'kup living in this more southerly region, mainly in the Narym district, but these became bilingual as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. The former and present day Sel'kup inhabitants belong administratively partly to the Tomsk Territory, partly to the Khanty-Mansiy, and partly to the Yamalo-Nenets national okrugs.

The fifth Samoyed people, which also belongs to the southern branch, is called the Kamas (or "Kamassian Samoyeds"). At the time of World War I they lived in the Sayan Mountains, around Abalakova, but since then all of them have perished.⁶

We cite the following statistics concerning changes in Samoyed population figures:

	Karjalainen (1897)	Donner (1913)	Prokof'ev (1926)	Soviet Census (1959)
Nenets (Yurak Samoyeds)	9,245	8,200	15,000	25,000 ⁷
Nganasan (Tavgi Samoyeds)	654	700	807	700
Enets (Yenisey Samoyeds)	671		378	(300) ⁸
Sel'kup (Ostyak Samoyeds)	5,805	3,928	4,355 (in 1934)	4,000
<u>Totals</u>	<u>16,375</u>	<u>12,828</u>	<u>20,540</u>	<u>30,000</u>

According to the 1959 Soviet statistics, 85.7% of the Nenets, 93.4% of the Nganasan, but only 50.6% of the Sel'kup speak their mother tongue.

Notes

1. Editor's note: In order to achieve consistency and accuracy, several decisions have had to be made about problems connected with rendering in English the ethnic names and foreign words in this volume. Except for widely accepted plural forms, such as "Samoyeds," the English plural suffix

has not been used with ethnic names. Thus, instead of the equally reasonable "The Sel'kups and the Nganasans are," in this book, we have "The Sel'kup and the Nganasan are." Also, for the sake of clarity, the same form of the ethnic name is used wherever it appears; for instance, unless there is a special reason for doing so, the Nenets are not, in this volume, referred to as "Yurak Samoyeds."

The transliteration system used here is essentially identical to the one which has been adopted for geographic names on maps and elsewhere, since it has the greatest mnemonic value for English readers. The system generally used in scholarly writing (as in The Slavic and East European Journal) was not chosen, since it confronts the reader with spellings that are likely to have false mnemonic value, e.g. Enisej for Енисей Nenec for Ненец Jurak for Юрак; nor was the Library of Congress system adopted, familiar as it may be in library catalogues and bibliographies, which has Enisei for Енисей Nenets for Ненец and Iurak for Юрак. The same names appear here as Yenisey, Nenets, and Yurak.

Abbreviations which were used in the Hungarian manuscript have been replaced by full words in English wherever they seemed inconsistent with accepted scholarly practice.

2. In the seventeenth century they lived west of their present location, around the Turukhan and Taz Rivers. However, at the beginning of the eighteenth century they were forced to move eastward either by the newly arrived Nenets or by the Sel'kup or Ket peoples.

3. A right-side tributary of the Pyasina.

4. A left-side tributary of the Kheta, which pours into the Khatanga.

5. Besides these two clans, a separate group called Oko lives with the Nganasan (it is supposedly of Dolgan origin; part of it lives with the Vadeyev clan, part with the Taymyr Avam group).

6. In 1857 there were 171 of them; in 1875, ninety; and 1914, fifty. But Kai Donner remarks that of these only eight still spoke Samoyed and all of them were elderly. In addition to the Kamas people we must also mention the following tribes, all of which are extinct or have lost their ethnic character: Karagas, Koybal, Motor, Soyot, Taygi. All of these, as well as the Kamas, were gradually fragmented through the influences of the Altaic peoples surrounding them so that in time they gave up their own languages and were completely assimilated. The Kamas together with these related tribes, now extinct, are customarily referred to as "Sayan Samoyeds."

7. Out of this figure the number of the Forest Nenets is approximately 1,000.

8. An estimate. The number of the Forest Enets is about 100, and the number of the Tundra Enets about 200.

2. APPELLATIONS

2. The Samoyeds themselves do not use most of the names that have been most frequently applied to them in the technical literature. Of the names of the Samoyed peoples, Samoyed is to this day of unknown origin. Long ago it was generally thought that the name originated in the Russian word for "self-eater," that is, "cannibal," самоед (Herberstein, Schlözer). The name has been identified with the name Suomi applied to Finland, as well as with the name Sabme which the Lapps apply to themselves (Joh. Eberh. Fischer, Adelung, Vater). According to Prokof'ev, the name is connected with the name of the Maddu tribe of the Enets, or rather with the Samadu form of this name. None of these ideas is acceptable. In particular, we must point out that this last view is unacceptable, since names of the form Samadu, Samatu are formed from the Russian words samod and samodi and therefore cannot be connected with the tribal name Maddu. The present form of the word Samoyed no doubt developed in Russian, but perhaps an ancient tribal name is concealed in it. It has now become common in scholarly Russian to use самодины, самодийские народы, самодийские языки, etc., instead of самоеды, самоедские народы, самоедские языки, etc.

The name Yurak (still not entirely obsolete) for the Nenets is not used among the Samoyeds either. This is a typically Russian form, and originates from the Ob-Ugric languages (cf. Ostyak Yaran, Yoren, Vogul Yorn, etc.; 'Nenets,' 'Samoyed'). The word came into the Ob-Ugric languages from Samoyed. The root of the Ob-Ugric word (a diminutive form) jor-, jar- is probably borrowed from the name of Yar clan of the Forest Nenets.

The first part of the name Tavgi-Samoyed is related to the Nenets word tawy? meaning 'Avam-Samoyed,' and tawgy?, meaning 'in the Avam language,' and to the Enets word tau?

(plural tauBu'), also meaning 'Avam Samoyed.' Prokof'ev is inclined to connect this name with the name Tuba (~ Tuwa = Soyot) used in the Sayan Mountains. There is, however, little basis for this.

The name "Yenisey Samoyeds" for the Enets comes from the fact that they live along the Yenisey River. And the "Ostyak Samoyeds" (Sel'kup) have this appellation because they live near the Ostyaks (Khanty).

The name Kamas may originate in a russified form of the name they apply to themselves (see below).

As I have mentioned, the names these people apply to themselves are entirely different from what have been some of their commonest names in the technical literature. The "Yurak Samoyeds" or Nenets refer to themselves as ñēñéć? or hāsawa, words which are also used to mean 'man.' The word hāsawa is of ancient Samoyed origin (cf. Nganasan kuajúmu, Enets kāsa, Kamas kuza, Koybal kaza, Motor kaza, Tavgi χasa, 'Mensch, Mann'), and its original meaning was also 'man' [adult male]. The original meaning of the word ñēñéć? has been said to be 'man,' but I believe there are convincing arguments showing that this meaning is secondary, and that the word was formed from the word ñēñe (meaning 'right, true') with the suffix éć?, to which was added another word meaning 'man,' and the whole expression used in the sense of 'real man' or 'Samoyed.'

The "Tavgi Samoyeds" or Nganasan call themselves nganasan. This word, as well as the Enets name enet?, has the same origin as Nenets ñēñéć?; thus, the three words are etymologically related. The Avam tribe of the Nganasan group also uses the name ñā, which originally meant 'friend' or 'companion.'

The "Ostyak Samoyeds" or Sel'kup call themselves šöl'-qup (Taz), šöl'qup (Turukhan), süsse qum (Ket), or čūmyl'-qup (Tym). These words are compounds. The second part is qum, qup (~ Hung. hím), which means 'man,' and the first part consists partly of sō, sū (meaning 'clay, earth') and partly of čū (meaning 'clay, earth' or 'sand'). Together they mean 'man of earth.'

The Kamas called themselves Kapmaže. The origin of this tribal name is unknown.

3. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SAMOYEDS

3. If we examine the physical-anthropological characteristics of the Samoyeds, we can observe many common elements linking them together and, in addition, analyze traces of mixture with other peoples. Unfortunately, there have not been comparable, precise and reliable physical-anthropological surveys of all the Samoyed peoples. (Best known to us is the body build and stature of the Sel'kup.) Nevertheless, following the descriptions of several experts, we may characterize the four major groups of Samoyeds as follows.

It is usually asserted that the Nenets differ sharply from the Mongoloid Tungus, and that they are somewhat closer to the Ostyaks in physical type. According to surveys, the Nenets are brachycephalic (cephalic index 84.8) and of short stature (158 cm. average). They form a transition between the Sel'kup and the Tungus with respect to beard growth, skin color, flatness of face, and shape of nose. In other words, more Mongoloid traits can be observed in the Nenets than in the Sel'kup, but, even so, the Nenets still are quite different from the Tungus. The same statements also apply to the Enets.

The characteristic traits of the Nganasan are as follows: they are brachycephalic (index number 82-83), have dark hair and eyes, and light skin. The nose is not pressed as flat against the face as in the case of Mongoloids; it protrudes rather sharply, although it is broad. The hair is stiff and straight like that of Mongoloids. Protruding cheek bones and the epicanthus (Mongolian fold) are quite frequent, but the latter is not developed well enough to make the eyes appear slanted like those of the Tungus. The Nganasan are of average and below average height, but taller than their Dolgan and Tungus neighbors. In summation, we may assert that the Nganasan have fewer Mongoloid traits than the Tungus, and

that among them — as well as among the Nenets — many characteristics of the Europoid type can be found. According to some scholars, the influence of the so-called Americanoid type — reminiscent of the Ket — can be shown also.

The chief physical characteristics of the Sel'kup are as follows: they have rather soft hair, and in beard growth stand between the Europoids and the Siberian Mongoloids. The skin color is very light, and the eyes of the majority are lighter than those of the peoples of eastern Siberia. Depigmentation can also be observed in hair color: brownish blond seems to predominate. Characteristic of their faces is, above all, that the cheek bones protrude only slightly. The flat face characteristic of the Buryat and the Tungus is rare. A moderately developed epicanthus (Mongolian fold) could be found in only one fourth of the persons observed. The Sel'kup are brachycephalic (cephalic index 80-84) and of short stature (157-160 cm.).

According to anthropological research the physical characteristics of the Sel'kup are reminiscent mostly of the Ob-Ugrians, whereas among the Nenets stronger Mongoloid traits can be found. However, the physical-anthropological differences between the Sel'kup and the northern Samoyeds should not be interpreted as due to the presence of different kinds of elements, but rather as due to the effect of the same elements in varying proportions.

The present Samoyed types, in all probability, developed in three phases. A mixture of depigmented (light) Europoid and Siberian Americanoid types must have served as the basic type. Later, southern Siberian (Sayan) Mongoloid elements blended with this already mixed type. It resulted in the so-called Uralic type. After the Samoyeds moved northward, their contact with the Ket affected the appearance primarily of the Sel'kup (although perhaps of the Nganasan too) with new Americanoid elements (which also can be shown to have affected Ostyaks). Further Mongoloid traits could have mixed with these in their present location, through the influence of the Mongoloid peoples (Tungus, Dolgan) living in close proximity.

4. SAMOYED CUSTOMS

4. There are, between the various Samoyed peoples, or rather between particular groups of Samoyeds, significant differences not only with respect to language, but also with regard to way of life or material culture.

4.1. The most characteristic traits of material culture of the Tundra Nenets are connected with reindeer breeding.

The Tundra Nenets graze their large reindeer herds all the year round on the tundras between the forest regions and the sea coast. Pasturing of the herds takes place at a specific time within a well defined area. During the winter they pasture their animals near the forest zone, on the type of tundra covered by bushes and groves called grove tundra. Here the snow does not become so hard as on the bare tundra region, and it is easier for the reindeer to scratch out the reindeer moss from under the snow cover.

In the spring, on the other hand, the Tundra Nenets drive their herds northward. By summer they reach the Arctic sea-coast. There, due to cooler, windier weather, the reindeer are not exposed so much to their greatest enemies—swarms of mosquitos and gadflies. At the same time, herdsmen also find good fishing spots there. In the fall they again head, in great caravans, back toward the grove tundras, which also abound in game.

Herdsmen graze the herds, consisting of hundreds of head, and frequently of thousands of head of reindeer, with the help of herd dogs. The Arctic herd dog (layka) is indispensable in Samoyed reindeer keeping, and, because of its extensive use, relatively few herdsmen are needed to do the herding. Two or three persons can take care of a herd of two thousand animals. Reindeer that break out of a herd are driven back by dogs, or pulled back with a lasso around the neck.

Either the reindeer owners, or the herdsmen, or both, with their households, may follow the reindeer in their wanderings all year round. They transport their tents and belongings on sleds, and with their families follow the herds on sleds to the next station. There the tents are set up, and the people stay there as long as the grazing territory satisfies the needs of the animals.

The reindeer is the basis of Nenets economy on the barren tundras. Reindeer provide food and clothing, tents are covered with reindeer hides, and use is made of the antlers, bones, sinews, and internal parts of slaughtered animals. The only thing that is not used is the reindeer milk, and this particular trait of Samoyed reindeer husbandry is the one which sharply distinguishes it from that of other Siberian peoples (e.g. the Tungus). Tundra dwellers could not make a living without herds of reindeer; therefore, the development of extensive reindeer breeding is understandable. There was development of similarly extensive reindeer breeding among the Zyrians too in recent centuries. Zyrian reindeer husbandry, entirely of Nenets origin, used to be for the most part the privilege of Zyrian traders who began to pursue this form of animal husbandry, along with other business activities, in the Nenets fashion, but for business profit. Zyrian herds were tended by Nenets herdsmen.

As a result of Nenets influence, some of the Ob-Ugrians have borrowed Nenets reindeer breeding techniques, especially the northern Ostyaks, entire tribes of which have taken up this way of life (some of them becoming Samoyedized).

It is more than likely that the present form of Nenets reindeer keeping is secondary. Original Samoyed reindeer culture is no doubt represented by reindeer husbandry as practiced among some of the Forest Nenets, Sel'kup, and Forest Enets.

In the forest it is impossible to breed hundreds—to say nothing of thousands—of reindeer. But forest dwellers do not have to depend entirely on reindeer, because their environment supplies them abundantly with meat and fish. In these areas individual families keep at most twenty or thirty reindeer and sometimes not even that many. In the summer, the mosquito season, the Forest Nenets turn their reindeer loose, while the

reindeer owners fish at camps on the river banks. They do not gather their herds until fall, when they set out with them on their winter hunts. They go at most forty to one hundred kilometers away from their summer location, setting up provisional shelters en route whenever it seems practical.

Forest dwellers use reindeer mainly for transportation. Fishing and hunting take care of the food and clothing needs of the people.

This original form of reindeer keeping has developed secondarily into extensive, large herd reindeer keeping among the Nenets who wander on the tundras. Tundra life lacks the natural resources supplied in the forest, so reindeer breeding has become the basis of material life. The reindeer is no longer merely an important means of transportation, but satisfies all the needs of tundra dwellers: the meat of slaughtered animals is the people's indispensable daily food, and the different parts of their clothing, their blankets, and the flaps of their tents are all made out of reindeer hide. Long ago arrowheads and needles were made out of reindeer bone, and this substance also served as the basic material for many other useful articles.

As a result of the gradual impoverishment of the Tundra Nenets which began centuries ago, there have been, naturally, a great many families living on the tundras, who have not had at their disposal the few hundred reindeer necessary for survival. The fifty to one hundred reindeer they might possess would not be sufficient to support them. For this reason, although these poorer families would tend their small herds themselves during the winter, in the summer they would merge them with the northbound herds of wealthier owners and would remain by the lakes to fish.

Besides reindeer keeping, fishing is a very important source of food, too. It is quite significant among the Nenets living near the Ob', Pur, and Taz, while among the Forest Samoyeds it is of vital importance. From the rivers, which abound in fish, they catch sturgeon, salmon, and various kinds of codfish in large numbers, sometimes with 80-meter seines, and with many other kinds of drag nets and scoop nets, with weirs and with fish baskets.

Hunting, too, is a favored occupation among the Tundra and Forest Nenets. The most substantial and useful game is the wild reindeer. The significance of wild reindeer hunting is shown by the very name given to the animal: it is called jil'epć? a word which actually means "life, living" (derived, incidently, from a root which is cognate with that of the Hungarian verb élni "to live"). It is called "life" because this animal is the major source of meat, hide and bones, which are so necessary for the sustenance of Nenets life. The Nenets have hunted with such success that wild reindeer have become almost extinct in the areas where they live.

Besides wild reindeer, the Nenets hunt foxes, rabbits, squirrels, ermine, wolverine, and—less frequently—wolves, bears, and polar bears. Today they hunt almost exclusively with guns, but not long ago they used bows and arrows, and spears, for hunting. Traps are quite often used for game animals. In the northern, coastal areas seal and walrus hunting is also widespread.

An ingenious net system is employed for the catching of birds, wild geese, and wild ducks. Using this method, a few men are capable of catching as many as two thousand wild geese in just a couple of days.

Nenets diet is monotonous. Although they have known bread for nearly a century, its consumption has begun to be widespread only in recent decades. They eat mainly meat and fish. They eat the meat of practically all animals, with the exception of totem animals. Usually meat is eaten raw, after it has been dipped into fresh, steaming blood. But they also like dried, frozen, or boiled meat and fish. During the summer strips of meat and fish are dried in the sun, and sometimes are even smoked lightly and salted, for longer preservation and to avoid worminess. In the winter, on the other hand, it is possible to preserve much larger supplies of food in a frozen state, without special treatment. Meat and fish are boiled in large kettles, and rye flour is mixed into the water; thus they prepare very tasty soups. Fat from the inner parts of the fish is rendered and eaten mixed with roe, bits of fish, or forest or marsh berries. Blood and marrow of slaughtered reindeer are usually

eaten immediately, although sometimes the blood is left to be preserved frozen in the open air—in that huge, natural refrigerator. The reindeer blood will readily dissolve in hot water and is made into pancakes by mixing it with flour and berries. A favorite dish is spring reindeer antlers. In the spring the antlers are still soft and gristly. They may be eaten either raw or boiled.

Tea is the usual drink. It is made from pressed brick tea. It used to be prepared also from cranberry leaves or from various plant roots.

The two most important components of the Nenets male's clothing are called the malitsa and the sovik. The malitsa (mal'če) is made of reindeer hide, prepared with the fur turned inside, to make a hooded fur coat without a front opening. In extremely cold weather, still another fur coat, called a sovik (sawak) is worn, on top of the first one, with the fur on the outside. Men's trousers reach only to the calf, and are worn with long fur boots stuffed with hay. There are no special summer clothes. Old, worn-out malitsas are worn during the summer.

The fur coat of the women, the pany, opens all the way down the front, and is almost of ankle length. Actually the pany is a double reindeerskin coat, fur-covered both inside and out, and decorated by a separate fringe of leather. Leather hoods protect the heads of the women from the cold. These hoods are adorned with tiny metal plates and glass beads.

The holiday best of the Nenets differs from their everyday clothing only in richness of ornamentation. The best garments are made quite decorative with leather fringes, horizontal and vertical leather ornaments, and metal pendants.

Due to the nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life of the Nenets, even today easily portable tents are used for dwellings. A tent's framework is made of thirty to forty poles fastened together at the top. This frame is covered with a double layer of reindeer hide in the winter and with birchbark in the summer. The birchbark is boiled beforehand to soften it.

Home furnishings are ascetically simple. The fire burns on an iron plate in the center of the tent, and smoke escapes through an opening in the top. Each of the side tentpoles of the entrance is equipped with a loop. Into these loops the ends of two horizontal iron rods are fastened. The other ends of these iron rods

meet in an acute angle at a vertical rod which stands separately by the wall opposite the entrance. This vertical rod is the so called šimši rod, famous for its role in shamanistic ceremonies. The ends of the aforementioned horizontal rods, which cut through the inner space of the tent in a V-shape at a height of about one and a half meters, are fastened onto this šimši rod. A kettle-holding arm, adjustable to various heights, serving to suspend the kettle, is placed across these two horizontal rods. To the right and to the left of the fire a few boards are placed. Along the walls of the tent, to the right and to the left of the entrance, are the sleeping places. Sleeping accommodations are simple: wicker mats on the floor are covered first with a layer of hay and then with reindeer hides. Idols, dishes and other articles are kept next to the šimši rod facing the entrance.

The size of a tent reflects the property status of the person in it. Wealthier people dwell in tall tents with large ground areas, while the tents of the poor are low and small.

During their wanderings, the Tundra Nenets take their tents along with them on sleds. It is the women's duty to pitch the tents in suitable locations. Wealthier people quite often used to have three or four tents, since they put up their herdsmen and their families, and eighty to one hundred sleds were needed to transport the belongings of these wealthier owners during their nomadic wanderings. The Nenets, then, do not live in villages, but move with their tents from one place to another. At most—as sometimes happens during the summer—ten or twelve families will set up their tents together on a lakeshore.

The wanderings of the Forest Nenets are not on such a large scale. In the forest they are usually forced to move only on account of the fishing season, to catch game, or to take care of their reindeer during the fall and winter. However, they are in a better position than their Tundra kinsmen: poles necessary for erecting tents are easily obtained anywhere in the forest, and, for this reason, it is unnecessary to carry around these items in their migrations.

At some permanent stations on the tundra, grove tundra, and forest routes, huts built on piles are set up, where food supplies, extra clothing, and utensils are kept.

Transportation—as we have seen—is mainly by reindeer-drawn sleds. There are well developed methods for building

sleds. Several different kinds of sled are used. The light traveling sled for men is different from the larger sleds built for women. Still a different type is the freight sled, which in turn has different subtypes, depending on whether a sled is used for transporting tent poles, domestic utensils, floor boards, or hides and furs. These types of sleds differ from each other in size, height, number of ribs, and width. The Nenets sled type is quite widespread among the other Samoyed peoples, and also in some places in Ob-Ugric and Zyrian territories, but definitely differs from the sled types of other reindeer keeping peoples of Siberia (e.g. Tungus, Chukchi, Koryak). Nenets sleds are made of birch or fir wood, without the use of a single nail. The Samoyed sled—especially the men's light traveling sled—appears to be a very fragile thing, but it has extraordinary load bearing capacity. It has wide runners and the high ribs are bent backward and at a slight angle inward; consequently it is strong, stable and extremely well balanced.

Draft reindeer are harnessed side by side, with the animals fanned out in front of the sled: the one on the far left is the trained leading reindeer. The driver also sits on the left side of the sled, facing the leading reindeer, with his feet hanging down on the left side of the sled. He guides the leading reindeer and with it the whole team with the aid of reins and a long rod. This particular way of driving is also a characteristic trait of Samoyed reindeer culture.¹ Usually there are only two reindeer harnessed to a freight sled, and on caravan routes they are tied by their necks to the sled in front so that they will follow the leading light sled. Three, five, or seven reindeer are customarily harnessed to the traveling sleds. The sled is such a universal means of transportation due to its lightness that it can be used not only during the winter, but also in summer, on the boggy marshlands. Dogs are very seldom used—and only in certain areas—as draft animals. Wide, short skis also are used for transportation during the winter. In the summer, various types of boats are used for river and sea fishing.

4.2. The Enets engage in reindeer husbandry, hunting, and fishing. Of these three, however, reindeer breeding is the most important occupation of the Tundra Enets, while hunting

and fishing play a greater role in the lives of the Forest Enets. Thus the Enets way of life is in part like that of the Nenets and in part like that of the Nganasan.

Enets tents are of the Nganasan type. Clothing is not uniform; the Tundra Enets wear clothes cut like those of the Nganasan, while the Forest Enets wear a Nenets type malitsa, although it is somewhat shorter.

4.3. Reindeer breeding had played only a secondary role in the life of the Nganasan until very recent times. The hunting of wild reindeer was, until recently, of the greatest economic significance. The Nganasan used to pursue such hunting practically all year round. Their nomadic trails were determined not by the pasturing of herds of domesticated reindeer but by the migrations of wild reindeer herds. In the spring (in March), after having spent the winter months on the border of the forest zone, the wild reindeer head northward from the forests, and the Nganasan used to follow their trail. Then the summer months would be spent in pursuit of game in the interior of the peninsula. On these hunting expeditions groups of hunters reached even as far as the uninhabited, barren Byrranga plateau on the northern seacoast of the Taymyr Peninsula. In the meantime, the families, left in the interior of the peninsula, spent their time fishing and catching waterfowl. In the fall, at the end of August or at the beginning of September, the Nganasan would start their journey again, this time southward, after the wild reindeer herds. By December they would reach the forest region where they spent approximately three months. These three months were spent living in one place, engaged in useful activities. This was the time to gather a supply of firewood, to take along on the long journeys. Food was obtained, for the most part, by setting fox traps.

Several wild reindeer hunting techniques were known, which were selectively employed according to the particular seasons of the year.

In the summer, reindeer were shot with guns (formerly with bows and arrows) by hunters in small groups or alone.

They set out on hunting raids on foot. If the pasture was very far from their dwellings, they approached it with a team of reindeer. In order to approach a wild reindeer herd unnoticed,

they often used a blind made of planks, attached to two sled runners. The front of this was camouflaged with lumps of snow. They would creep closer and closer to their targets, pushing the blind in front of them, until finally they shot at an animal which they had singled out in advance through a sight drilled into the blind.

In the spring and fall (at the time of reindeer migration) group hunts would be organized. An older form of this is the so-called ḡataḡiru: hunters set up poles four to six meters apart in two rows, forming a V shape, and they hang leather pieces, or the wing feathers of a partridge spread out like a fan, on the poles. Then a hunter chases the wild reindeer herd into the converging fences. The reindeer, frightened by the white and black leather pieces and feathers dangling in the wind, do not dare to break out through the sides. A few hunters also hide themselves at the open ends of the fence and force the stampeding reindeer herd into the corral, shouting and waving pieces of clothing. At the narrow end of the pair of fences, two or three hunters, armed with bows and arrows, take cover and slaughter the animals. There used to be other variations of the group hunting method. The method most widely used was that in which the rows of fence poles were set up on a lakeshore, so that the narrow end of the V formation would point directly into the water. Herds of wild reindeer would thus be driven into the lake by men and dogs. The reindeer would be allowed to swim about halfway across the lake before the hunters who had been hiding on the opposite shore would get into their boats and meet the animals and kill them with their spears. A few hunters would remain sitting on the near shore, close to the spot where the animals were driven into the water, to kill any of them that turned back in an effort to escape the danger.

Sometimes strong leather nets fifty meters long would be used as well on winter hunts. Wild reindeer would be driven into such nets, and were quite easily dealt with after their antlers became entangled in the net.

Today these methods of hunting are forbidden, because they lead to the rapid diminution of the game stock.

After a snowfall, wild reindeer herds are hunted by hunters in reindeer drawn sleds. In addition to this sporting kind of hunting, another, more archaic method exists, which tests the

skill and ingenuity of the individual hunter. This method involves having the hunter approach the game using a decoy deer. Either trained domesticated reindeer cows or untrained bulls are used as decoys. The procedure differs accordingly.

The tame reindeer cow is driven toward a wild reindeer herd. Upon seeing the approaching animal, the grazing herd does not suspect the presence of men and does not flee. Around the neck of the decoy reindeer, a skin tether, which the hunter slowly unwinds behind the advancing animal to a length of some three hundred meters, is fastened. Holding onto the end of the tether, he himself, behind a portable blind, creeps after the decoy animal until he is in a situation favorable for the kill. By tugging on the tether, the hunter is able to guide the decoy deer in the desired direction.

It is not necessary to train a reindeer bull to use it as a hunting decoy. A very strong bull with tremendous antlers is used for this purpose. A loop made out of reindeer sinew is attached to the branches of his antlers. The loop is fastened very tightly at the base of the antlers. The decoy bull is driven close to the wild reindeer herd, where it will begin to fight with another bull. They will continue to struggle until the antlers of the wild bull become entangled in the skillfully arranged loops on the decoy bull, from which it cannot escape. The hunter will come then and kill the trapped animal.

Nganasan hunters are also interested in catching various kinds of wild geese, wild duck, and partridges (their hunting season is from April until July). Usually they catch flocks of birds with long stretched out nets.

Traps and bow-traps are set up for catching arctic foxes, but fur hunting has never been of great economic importance to the Nganasan.

Extensive fishing is practiced mainly among the Taymyr Avam, because they spend the whole summer at Lake Taymyr, where they succeed in getting an abundant catch. The rest of the Nganasan resort to fishing only in order to supplement their diet. The fishing tools are the fastened fishing nets, primitive, pin-shaped hooks made out of bones, and lately iron hooks.

Next to wild reindeer hunting, and indeed today even above it in importance, reindeer breeding is the most important branch of the economic life of the Nganasan. Unlike the Tundra

Nenets, the Nganasan—especially in earlier times—did not keep reindeer for their meat and hide (they would slaughter at most one or two only in the spring, before the beginning of the wild duck and fishing season), but used them as draft animals. In the arctic regions, where the winter is very long, the only means of transportation is the reindeer sled. In olden times, when the Nganasan had fewer reindeer than they now do, the people were on occasion forced to pull their sleds themselves behind the caravan. However, since the nineteenth century the reindeer stock has increased, and today the Nganasan are the largest reindeer breeding people around the Taymyr Peninsula region. Even poor families have at least fifty reindeer (among their Dolgan neighbors, before the collectivization, an owner of fifty reindeer was considered wealthy).

The Nganasan practice Samoyed-type reindeer keeping, described previously in connection with the Nenets. They neither milk nor saddle the reindeer, they harness the reindeer to the sled just like the Nenets, and they, too, sit on the left side of the sled. The different types of sleds used are like those of the Nenets, although the women's traveling sled—which is also used as a freight-sled—is a unique Nganasan type, unknown elsewhere. Its characteristics are the high ribs and plank props placed in a semicircle in the front and in the back of the seat.

There is not much variety in the diet. In the fall and winter the Nganasan live mainly on wild reindeer meat, and in the summer their meals consist mostly of wild duck, wild goose, and fish. During the relatively short summer and fall a large supply of meat and fish must be accumulated so that they will not be without food during the spring months, when hunting and fishing is much less successful. Wild reindeer meat is cut into narrow strips and dried in the sun. When dry, it is cut into smaller pieces and preserved by mixing it with fat. Fat is kept in containers made out of reindeer stomach, reindeer bladder, the hide of reindeer calves, or sometimes out of the skin of salmon-trout, which frequently are as large as human beings. Fish is almost always eaten raw. Dried reindeer meat, on the other hand, is always cooked.

The tents used by the Nganasan during their wanderings are more or less like those of the Nenets. There is no

significant difference in the interior of the tents either. Two to five families live in a single tent. If only two families live in a tent, the right side is occupied by the wealthier man and his family. If more than two families have to live in one tent, the ground area of the tent is equally divided among them. Winter tents are very strong, covered with several layers of canvas and reindeer hide, so that they give good protection against the continuous snowstorms on the Taymyr. From the following quotation from the well known explorer in Nganasan Territory, A. A. Popov, we may conclude that, although they have strongly built tents, they do not lead a comfortable life: "On May 24, 1937, I experienced an exceptionally violent snowstorm on the Bol'shaya Balakhnaya River. I was awakened in the early morning by a continuous roaring noise. Our tent crackled and rattled incessantly. We had to use axes and other heavy objects to fasten the bottom edges of the hides covering the entrance so that the wind would not tear them away. A burst of wind suddenly tore down the upper covering of the tent, and the inside of the tent was soon covered with snow. We lay under our deer-skin blankets from morning until late at night, without food or water, for it was impossible to leave the tent in order to get food from the freight sleds. Fortunately the storm died down during the night. When the fire was rekindled, the snow on top of the tent began to melt and run down the sidepoles and pretty soon there were large puddles inside the tent."

Nganasan clothing is different from that of the Nenets. Clothes are exclusively made out of reindeer hides, and colorful (red and black) fabrics are used only to decorate the leather cloth. The winter garments of men and women are slightly shorter and lighter than the ones worn by the Nenets. This follows from the difference between the way of life of the two peoples: the Nganasan travel on foot much more often than the Nenets, and their clothing has been adapted accordingly.

The malitsa for men (Nganasan lu) is made out of black and white reindeer hide. For traveling, a white reindeer hide fur coat, called fie, is worn over the malitsa. In the summer shabby, old malitsa's are worn. Under them a very short, trouser-like leather garment is worn.

Women wear a sleeveless leather shirt under their malitsa-like fur coats (lifarie) which are open in front. The shirt ends

in trousers (fonie) and has a bodice ornamented with five to seven rib like copper plates (in Tungus style). On sled trips they also wear a fur coat (lun) on the top of the lifarie.

The Nganasan wear high reindeer hide boots (fajimu) cut in a peculiar way. No boots similar to these can be found in any other parts of Siberia. These boots have no indentation at the instep, but are completely cylindrical in shape, resembling a horse's hoof. Masks of bent metal plates are worn to prevent snow blindness. They have two horizontal slits cut in them to look through.

Holiday clothes of both men and women are decorated with white, red, and black fabric and leather trimming, fur hems and metal ornaments. Only geometrical designs are employed in native ornamental art. Living creatures are depicted only on cult objects (for example, on shaman drums, and on the little bags used for keeping idols, the kojka). Skill and taste are evident both in the drawings scratched on mammoth bones and in the metal ornaments.

4.4. The Sel'kup engage in fishing and hunting. The squirrel is the most important game animal of the forest dwelling southern Sel'kup. The importance of the squirrel is demonstrated by the fact that before the use of money the Sel'kup counted in terms of squirrel fur bundles, taking ten furs as the basic unit. For instance, a wolverine hide was worth one bundle (that is, ten squirrel furs), a sable fur three bundles (that is, thirty squirrel furs).²

In the grove tundras where the Taz Sel'kup live, conditions are more favorable for the hunting of arctic foxes. Of course, besides the hunting of squirrels and arctic foxes, hunting of other animals valuable for their fur or edible meat has also been practiced. At one time there was extensive sable hunting in the forest region. Elk were also killed, and tundra dwellers hunted wild reindeer.

The Sel'kup like to eat black grouse, capercailzie, hazel-grouse and water birds. They hunt larger game with guns (previously with bows and arrows), and with traps; the smaller ones are also hunted with nets. However, besides the traditional methods which can be found everywhere, trained tamed animals were formerly used in hunting. It was customary, for example, to raise bear cubs whenever they were captured alive.

When such a semi-tamed animal would attack a wild bear, it was relatively easy to pick out the wild partner and kill it in the heat of the fight.

The Sel'kup have also engaged in taming animals for purposes other than hunting. Around their home they liked to keep tame foxes, or different kinds of birds (wild geese, wild ducks, pine jays [*nucifrag careocatactus*], or eagles) which would return to them even if they flew out of their cages. No doubt, former totemism, and reverence for the clan forefather, imagined as having an animal shape, are behind this tamed animal cult. (Eagles were called brothers by the members of the Eagle clan.)

Fishing is perhaps of greater importance to the southern Sel'kup than to the northern group. The latter have become familiar with reindeer breeding as they moved north, and engage in the so-called forest-type of reindeer keeping. They do not have very many reindeer, the majority only about twenty or thirty, the wealthy ones about two to three hundred per family. Dogs are not used for herding. Every evening wooden hobbles are tied around the legs of the reindeer, and the animals are left outdoors unguarded. In the summer, in the mosquito season, the animals are turned loose without any herdsmen watching over them. At that time, the reindeer, fleeing the mosquitos, head for the forest region in order to be left in peace. The owners do not take care of them during the whole summer, in fact, they do not even see the animals. Then, at the end of the fall fishing season, after the first snowfall, they go to the forest, following the tracks of the animals, and round them up again with great difficulty. If they find a strange reindeer, they give it back to its rightful owner. (Ownership is ascertained on the basis of various kinds of marks cut into the ear or leg; the same method is used among other reindeer breeding peoples). These reindeer are smaller and wilder than those of the Nenets. It is quite difficult to handle these half-wild animals, which often mate with wild reindeer so that frequently fifty percent of the yearly stock increase is from wild reindeer.

The types of sleds and the harnessing techniques are similar to those of the Nenets. Thus, it can be assumed that the idea and technique of reindeer keeping were adopted from the Nenets—probably from the Forest Nenets—since the mode of reindeer keeping is like that of the Nenets. Also, in oral

tradition, the origin of reindeer keeping is explained as follows: once a Sel'kup wandering on foreign land met a headless man (olykytyl' qup), who exchanged an entire reindeer herd for a bow. The expression 'headless man' seems to point to the Forest Nenets clan name ḡāwāšata 'headless.'

The northern Sel'kup hitch dogs as well as reindeer to their sleds. Harnessing dogs is customary among the southern group too, but now they have horses as well. The poorer Sel'kup along the Turukhan River frequently used to pull their Ket (Yenisey Ostyak) type sleds themselves, wearing snow shoes (dimensions: 1-1½ m. by 20-25 cm.); sometimes they would also use one or two dogs harnessed alongside.

The diet of the Sel'kup who live in the southern regions shows a greater variety than that of their northern relatives. The use of bread, flour, salt, and tea became widespread long ago among the Sel'kup living around the Ob' and the Ket. In this they followed the example of their Russian neighbors. However, their basic diet still consists of meat and fish. In the summer, they prepare a large supply of fishmeal from dried fish. Reserves are accumulated of dried fish and also of the meat of forest and water birds. Women gather the roots of wild onions and of other edible forest plants.

Containers used for keeping food, like those of the Ostyaks, are made out of wood and birch bark. Pottery containers were not known in former times. Metal pots and pans are used, and other dishes (plates, cups, etc.) can also be found in the household.

Dwellings here are of a more permanent nature than the dwellings of the nomadic reindeer herders. Villages are located on the higher shores of rivers, and consist of not more than eight or ten houses, or yurts. Fishing and hunting, however, do not bind the Sel'kup to one spot. The winter hunting season and the summer fishing season necessitate some wandering. This half-sedentary way of life involves having different winter and summer dwelling places. Buildings are not all constructed in the same way.

In the winter dwellings of the northern, Taz-Turukhan Sel'kup we see, no doubt, a survival of ancient ways. These people live in a square plank hut called a zemlyanka, built into a pit approximately half a meter deep. Earth is piled around

such huts to seal the openings between the planks. On the wall opposite to the door an opening is cut for a window. In place of glass the window is covered with a sheet of ice (replaced by a new one when it melts). A clay oven built on a wooden framework is located either in the middle of the hut or to the right of the entrance. In addition to these huts built into the ground, some Sel'kup live in Nenets-type tents.

During the summer the Sel'kup live in birchbark tents, and sometimes on summer fishing trips in covered barges.

The Narym (southern) Sel'kup have several kinds of permanent dwellings. They have semisubterranean plank huts, but these are of better construction than the huts of the northern Sel'kup. The flooring is usually made out of planks, the windows have glass, and heat is provided by Russian type ovens. The old type—earth covered zemlyanka-huts—are still known, however. Nearly all of the Sel'kup living along the Ket now live in Russian type log cabins.

Birchbark shacks and conical tents made of pine bark can also be found in some places among the Narym Sel'kup. On fishing trips they live in covered barges—just as the Taz Sel'kup do. The Narym Sel'kup do not build ovens in their summer dwellings, but cook outdoors.

There is also a significant difference between the clothes of the northern and southern Sel'kup. Along the Taz-Turukhan, both men and women wear fur-bordered reindeer fur coats open in front (pargy). During the severest part of the winter they wear the so called sokky over the pargy. The sokky is a kind of fur coat, borrowed from the Nenets, and cut exactly like the Nenets sovik.

Under their outer garments the men wear leather trousers and shirts, the women home-sewn underwear of factory goods.

Winter boots are called pemy. They are made out of reindeer hide, and are worn without stockings. The legs of the boots are stuffed with hay, just as is done by other Samoyed peoples.

The Narym Sel'kup wear clothes cut in Russian style. They usually make their own clothes out of manufactured wool, cotton, or linen fabrics which they have bought. Only a very few traditional garments have survived, chiefly fur coats.

It used to be customary to make underwear, gloves and summer boots out of fish skin. Sterlet and sturgeon skins were especially suitable for making these pieces of clothing, which were waterproof.

4.5. At the end of the last century, the Kamas were still a nomadic people, wandering with their reindeer herds and with their portable, conical tents in the forested regions of the Sayan Mountains. Then, at the beginning of this century, after their reindeer herds had perished, they settled down, and simple farming became their most important means of subsistence. However, wild reindeer hunting and fishing still remained the favorite male pastime. Tents were gradually replaced by log cabins faced with birchbark, and the former nomadic life became only a fading memory of the past. Forgetting the hardships of nomadic life, they accepted their new way of life only with great difficulty, and tried to preserve certain nomadic customs even in their new circumstances (e.g. they did not like staying inside their permanent dwellings, so they would build their fires outdoors and spend their free time sitting around the burning fire in the yard, with their feet tucked under them). However, both in their customs and in their language the Kamas had become completely assimilated to the surrounding Altaic Turkic population by the end of the first quarter of this century.

Notes

1. The Tungus sit on the right side of the sled; the Chukchi and Koryak in the middle, with the sled between their feet while driving. On the other hand, the Yakut and the Lapps drive the reindeer team with their legs extended, in a half lying position. There is a significant difference, too, between the sled types of the Samoyeds and those of other reindeer keeping peoples. While the Samoyed sleds have slanted ribs, the Tungus and Yakut have sleds with straight ribs, the Chukchi and Koryak have sleds with arched ribs, and the Lapps use sleds without any ribs.

2. Vestiges of counting in terms of bundles are preserved in the Sel'kup number system. The Sel'kup living on the Turukhan River count the tens beginning from twenty as follows: 20 = sittsar, 30 = nassar, 40 = tiëssar, 50 = sombl-sar

60 = muk-sar, etc. These numerals were as follows in the middle of the last century in another dialect: sede s̄arm (20), nak s̄arm (30), tē s̄arm (40), sombla s̄arm (50), muk s̄arm (60), etc. The last member of these, s̄arm (and the shortened form sar) is the word for 'bundle' (consisting of ten squirrel furs). So the literal translation of 'twenty' would be 'two bundles,' of 'thirty' — 'three bundles' etc.

3. Of course, there are differences also. Reindeer saddling, no doubt, developed as a result of the influence of neighboring Tungus.

5. SAMOYED SOCIETY

5. The patriarchal clan system, characteristic of the society of the Samoyed peoples, was preserved until quite recent times, and began to disintegrate only in recent decades. However, the organization of the clan system was not the same everywhere.

5.1. Nenets clans had their own strictly defined grazing and hunting and fishing territory within which were traditionally fixed, constantly recurring, wandering routes. They were so conscious of belonging to clans even in the thirties that actually the first collective farms were established on the basis of the clan system.

The clans comprised phratries, and marriage within phratries or clans was forbidden. This unwritten social law was taken so seriously that for instance certain groups of Tundra Nenets could not take a wife from four of the Forest Nenets clans because everyone knew of the relationship between these four clans and three Tundra Nenets phratries. Which clans of the Forest Nenets belonged to which particular Tundra Nenets phratries was also known. The number of the clans grew from century to century. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were more than a hundred Nenets clans.

There are many other traits of the clan system, e.g., common burial ground, common sacrificial ground, mutual aid of clan members, blood revenge, clan signs and symbols (tamga), etc.

Collective hunting and fishing were characteristic of the organization of labor within the society. This collectivism survived into the twentieth century. The catch and quarry obtained by collective fishing and hunting were distributed not only among participants, but also among the sick, the old, and orphans. Certain equipment (e.g., the more valuable nets, seagoing vessels, etc.) was the common property of the clan.

In spite of all this, we must not think of some ideal "primitive community" [translator's note: "primitive communistic society"] in connection with the Samoyed clans, for the historical documents of two hundred years ago give accounts of an uneven distribution of wealth among the Nenets developing even at that time. The growth of wealth of large property owners coincided with the gradual impoverishment of the majority of the clan members. At the end of the nineteenth century seventy-five per cent of the reindeer stock was owned by large property owners who constituted a mere seventeen per cent of the area's Nenets population. The economic goal was no longer the satisfaction of the family's or clan's immediate needs, but was instead the production of a greater quantity of goods for increased profits. Wealthier Nenets hired herdsmen who were seemingly independent of the owners, but who actually lived in a state of strong economic dependence, having no reindeer of their own or only so few as to be insufficient for their subsistence, owning no tents, etc.

Family life was patriarchal in character. Often ten to fifteen persons, thus several families, would live together in one tent. They worked together under the direction of a single family head. In this society women had an essentially subordinate position, although with respect to family matters, their opinions were always listened to. Numerous restrictions, partly of a religious nature, were imposed upon women. They were considered unclean, and they could enter a newly erected tent only after having purified themselves and their utensils with the smoke of reindeer hair. Women were forbidden to step over weapons, nets, halters, reindeer equipment, or other implements belonging to men. They were forbidden to eat bear meat, some varieties of fish or the head of a reindeer. A girl's opinion was not asked at the time of marriage and it was very difficult to dissolve a marriage on the basis of the wife's wishes. At one time polygyny also existed. This luxury could be afforded only by a few wealthy men, however, for wives had to be purchased with a bride price (kalim). The kalim usually consisted of five to ten, but sometimes as many as one hundred to two hundred head of reindeer, as well as furs, and utensils. The amount would depend on local conditions and on the value of the bride.

A woman had no right of inheritance. She did have a great deal of work to do. It was her job to pitch, disassemble and pack the tent. She had to supply firewood and prepare meals. Her duties extended to preparing and tanning hides, making clothes and taking care of the children. She had her share of work in connection with reindeer keeping and fishing as well, even though she was not allowed to participate in the most important working processes involved in fishing, hunting or reindeer husbandry.

5.2. The Enets three tribe (teans) division is of very recent origin. The Muggađđi, previously mentioned as the third tribe besides the Maddu and the Bay, have separated from the Bay tribe. All three tribes had their own territory long ago.

The social organization of the individual tribes or groups is different. The Maddu are divided into nine exogamous clans (fogga), each of which goes back to a common ancestor. On the other hand, the Bay and Muggađđi are socially organized into sibs (called tiso) which are territorially based instead of being based on belief in a common ancestor. Because of the nature of the Maddu clans only the members of the Maddu tribe may belong to them. On the other hand, not only the members of the Bay and Muggađđi may belong to the tiso, but also the Yuchi as well (the last is a small group joined to them, supposedly of Forest Nenets origin). The members of a clan of the Maddu tribe may marry a member of another clan of the same tribe, but the members of a tiso of the Bay, and Muggađđi tribes are not allowed to marry the members of another tiso. Thus the Bay, Muggađđi (and also the Yuchi) tribes form a separate exogamous unit, the lineage groups of which cannot intermarry.

Polygyny, the kalim system, and other characteristic traits of the tribal system can also be found among the Sel'kup; the position of women is very similar to that of Nenets women.

5.3. Nganasan patriarchal clan organization survived until very recent times in spite of the fact that signs of an uneven distribution of property are apparent. The Avam are divided into five exogamous clans and the Vadeyev into six. The clans, occupying an enormous area, did not form a close economic unit. They did not have their own clan territories. The

families wandering together did not necessarily belong to the same clan, but were only held together by a good-neighbor relationship. These communities sometimes consisted of families of equal rank, supporting themselves by collective labor. Quite often, however, the poorer families would gather around wealthier people and be entirely dependent on them economically.

5.4. The Sel'kup clans are organized in exogamous phratries. Traces of the dualistic (two phratry) system [moiety system] can best be observed among the northern Sel'kup. The phratries consisted of several clans, and these clans lived in strictly circumscribed clan territories even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the dissolution of the clan system the clan territories and settlements also disintegrated. In the nineteenth century the Sel'kup already lived in communities based on locality, and communities consisted of families belonging to different clans.

Although the clan disintegrated as an economic unit (primarily in the southern Sel'kup territories), the tradition of collective labor survived in fishing, and wild reindeer and wild goose hunting in collective groups is quite frequent among the Taz Sel'kup.

The position of women is not as humble in Sel'kup society as it is among other peoples of Siberia. Although the woman is subordinate to her husband, in many respects they are equal. For example, women may take part in economic production (hunting and fishing).

6. SAMOYED RELIGION

6. Theoretically all Samoyeds have been Orthodox since the eighteenth century. They have nevertheless remained faithful to their ancient shamanistic religion, and, with it, to their idols and sacrificial grounds, up to this century. Although there is essential agreement in the shamanistic beliefs of the Samoyed peoples, there are many differences in the details. These differences can partly be attributed to autochthonous developments, but can quite often be explained by the influence of the neighboring shamanistic peoples (e.g., Ostyak, Tungus, Ket). It would be very difficult to reconstruct the original form of Samoyed shamanism in terms of the history of religion. It is very likely that the shamanism of the Turkic peoples—with whom the Samoyeds were in contact during their millenia-long stay in western Siberia—greatly altered and modified their own shamanistic beliefs, which in turn were enriched by some new, Christian elements in the past three hundred years as the result of missionary work.

According to Nenets concepts, the world was created by the highest god, Num (Sel'kup: Nom). Num also denotes the concept of 'sky'; however, this god rules not only in the sky, but he has also extended his power over the earth. The welfare of men depends on him. His son is Nga (ŋa), the god of death, from whom he protects men only if they offer sacrifices to him. (The Sel'kup Nga (ŋa) and Nganasan Ngua (ŋua) words, corresponding to the Nenets Nga, do not denote this specialized 'god of Death' concept, but only have the general meaning 'god').

Men cannot get into direct contact with God, hence, according to the beliefs of all the Samoyed peoples, there are zoomorphic mediatory spirits between the gods and men. They are called tādepčō by the Nenets, los by the Sel'kup, samady by the Enets, and damada by the Nganasan. Only the shamans are able to get in touch with them, and through them, the shamans are able to detect the will of the gods.

The Samoyeds suppose that there are divine and spiritual beings in the manifestations and phenomena of nature, in lakes, in rivers, in mountain peaks or in any other conspicuous formation of nature. Some of these beings are malevolent (e.g., the Nenets water spirit), and their anger can be propitiated only by frequent sacrifices.

The concept of the highest god is not personalized among all the Samoyed peoples, and generally there is no uniformity with regard to the hierarchy of the various gods. The Enets distinguish four categories of supernatural beings. The gods themselves are called nga, and several of them are of equal rank, and generally pictured as women. One of the most powerful of these, however, is a male god: Ďuba-nga 'Orphan-god.' The word kača denotes the malevolent spirits of disease and sickness. Samady is the name for the shaman's helping spirit. And finally, all of the lesser (lower rank) spirits together are called amuka (meaning 'snatcher, one who takes away' < amu 'claw, paw'). A similar hierarchy can be observed among the Nganasan: nguo 'god,' koča 'illness-spirit,' Ďamada 'the shaman's helping spirit,' barusi 'devil, evil spirit' (their highest tutelary god is also the so-called 'Orphan-god': Ďejbaru-nguo).

The spirits of the dead are also included among the lesser spirits, and thus they too are worshipped. According to Samoyed belief, a man consists of body, soul, and a shadow-soul. When a person dies, his soul leaves his body, but his shadow-soul or spirit—which accompanies him and protects him throughout his life—survives, and continues to live in the other world. The ghosts (shadow-souls) of famous shamans become tādebċo; because of this, idols are made in the image of deceased shamans (Nenets nyterma), and are treated with superstitious reverence.

Special reverence toward the clan forefathers is a consequence of the cult of the dead. The forefather is usually depicted as having an animal shape. The particular animal ancestor from which the members of a clan originate was formerly a totem animal and was taboo. It was forbidden to kill the animal, to eat its meat, or to utter its name.

Spirits were represented by strangely shaped stone idols or by wood carvings (Nenets hæhe, Enets kaha, Nganasan kojka).

These figures were dressed up, consulted in daily troubles, and carried along the wanderings on sleds built especially for that purpose. Besides familiar spirits, there were also wooden idols at the sacrificial places (Nenets śādaj).

Sacrifices made to the spirits were either blood sacrifices (reindeer, dogs, etc.) or bloodless sacrifices (food, drink, money). The shaman (Nenets tādibe, Enets tyrebe, Sel'kup tetypy, Kamas tārbu) played a very important role during these ceremonies. The shaman was considered a person with supernatural powers, whose shadow-soul (spirit) was able to leave his body during the magical rites; his ghost, going out through the smoke-hole, is able to go to the world of the spirits in the shape of an animal. There it can learn the future, how to prevent troubles, and the wishes of the spirits. The shamans were able to foretell the future, to cure the sick, to communicate with the spirits of the dead, to bring back lost hunting luck, to search for lost objects and to perform many other magical deeds. The most powerful shamans were even able to cut their own bodies, and to push a dagger through their hearts, without being injured.

The shaman drum is the most important instrument in the shaman's activity. The drum is made of reindeer hide, stretched across a circular or oval wooden frame. When beaten with wooden drum sticks it gives a mystical, hollow sound. During the shaman ceremony, the shaman gradually works himself into a frenzy by singing charm songs, beating on the drum, and dancing in a wild and uncontrolled manner. When he has collapsed, his shadow-soul (spirit) leaves his body in order to learn the will of the gods. When he revives, he tells in a song what he has observed during his journey, and what the wishes of the spirits are.

The shamans can be divided into classes according to their abilities. Actually this classification was preserved until recent times only among the Enets and Sel'kup, but traces of it can also be found in the Nenets language. Budtode is the highest class of Enets shamans; these are able to get in touch with the highest spirits, and many tales are told about their magic deeds. The budtode have their own shaman dress, hat, drum, and shaman stick. Shamans belonging to the middle category are called đano. Protecting men from evil spirits belongs to their sphere of activities (they use the drum only, and they do not

have a special shaman dress), and the lowest class consist of shamans called sawode. Their duty is to communicate with the spirits of the dead, and to participate in burial ceremonies (they have neither a special costume nor drums).

The skill and knowledge of a Sel'kup shaman are reflected by his clothing and equipment. A young, beginning shaman obtains his outfit and instruments in the following sequence: first the drumsticks, then the drum, then the breast cloth (nagrudnik), then the shaman cape and boots, and finally the shaman cap and the shaman stick. The shaman cap is the symbol of the highest rank of shaman. The possessor of the cap is allowed to perform shaman ceremonies only beside the fire.

The clothing and equipment of a shaman have symbolic significance; these objects are necessary to a shaman in order for him to perform magic deeds, to travel to the world of spirits, and to fight evil spirits, or the guardian spirits of other shamans, if necessary. With the decline of shamanism, first the particular and special outfits disappeared. As a general rule it is the shaman drum which has survived everywhere for the longest period of time, as the only means and symbol of the practice of shamanistic functions.

It was most important for a shaman to possess a shaman drum. The ceremony of "reviving" the drum is an essential part in initiating a shaman candidate among the Sel'kup. For, according to Sel'kup mythology, the drum is the shaman's animal (usually a reindeer), on which he rides to the world of the spirits. A shaman candidate's new drum must be "revived" before it can be used as a shaman drum. The reviving festival—lasting about ten days—is held at the time the birds migrate in the spring.

Formerly the shamans had great power over the people. Their advice was asked on any important matter, and they were well paid for it. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century the Samoyed faith in the extraordinary abilities of the shamans was shaken (especially among the Nenets living further west). At that time, the authority of the shamans was kept up more or less only by the memories of old, famous shamans. The diminishing influence of the shamans can be observed mainly among the Nenets;

their relationship to their shamans is quite different from that of their neighbors. The Nenets do not visit their shamans so often, and if the shamans' predictions fail at times, respect for them diminishes considerably. Simultaneously, the special shaman costume has also disappeared among the Nenets, who believe that a really great shaman cannot be found anymore. This is regarded as only a local situation, however, and the Nenets show much greater respect toward the Enets shamans than toward their own, whereas the Enets themselves—although in general, the shaman's authority is still greater among them—regard the Sel'kup and Ket shamans as even more powerful than their own.

7. FOLKLORE

7. Samoyed folklore, the most original pieces of which—in both form and content—have been recorded¹ among the Nenets, differs sharply from both European folklore and the folklore of neighboring peoples. These works reflect the world of emotion and belief shared by Samoyed reindeer herders, and reflect their power of imagination set free during the monotony of the long winter nights—as well as many significant episodes of life in these subarctic cultures.

The most significant types of folklore belong to the non-prosaic genres, and are performed without instrumental accompaniment, in the form of a monodic recitative.

No doubt the most respected and popular epic and lyric songs should be mentioned first. Heroic epics are called śūdabapc by the Nenets, śudobiču by the Enets, and sitabi by the Nganasan. The name is derived from the Nenets word śūdabe 'giant,' indicating that the stories of the heroic epics involve wondrous and fearful giants, and the deeds of brave, heroic men. Struggles with evil spirits, with man-eating giants, with fantastic monsters, and against foreign peoples, in which the heroes of these songs are involved, are usually over the possession of reindeer herds, or to win "the woman." Often, however, blood revenge is the cause of the fight. The heroes of the songs keep on fighting indefatigably for years. Their clothing is made of silver, copper, or iron, and so are their tents. They are able to fly in the air, and to come back to life after dying.

Mythical references and descriptions of a society with patriarchal clan systems attest to the ancient origin of these heroic epics.

Another favored narrative genre is the so called "märchenhaftes Klagelied" (Nenets jārapc, Enets đoreču, Nganasan đurume). These do not tell about the fights of wondrous heroes,

but about the past of the people. The heroes of these songs also undergo trials, sufferings, and failures, but the Samoyeds regard the events narrated as true, unlike the events in the heroic epics. The heroic epic and the "Klagelied" differ from each other not only in topic, but also in narrative style. The former tells the story about the hero in the third person, the latter in the first person.

The common characteristic of the two narrative forms mentioned above is the fact that although the essence of the story, the episodes and the form, are handed down from generation to generation, the text is not constant. The traditional story and text are mostly formed anew by each narrator. Thus, the realization of the text in a poetic form takes place during the performance.

On the border line between epic (narrative) and lyric songs is the so called "Rauschlied" (Nenets jabe?ma, Nganasan bala), in which the singer sings about events and episodes of real life. These songs, like the lyric songs, (for instance maiden songs) are free as to their texts and are mainly improvised songs which do not survive after the first performance (of course, the more successful ones may survive). Anyone may express his happiness or sorrow in a song at any time, but the success of the song naturally depends on the artistic abilities of the performer. Although there are no professional minstrels, good performers are remembered. The shamans usually also belong to this calling, for, besides the lyric songs and the "Rauschlieder," improvisation of text plays a most important role in the shaman songs. Here text is subordinated to the melody and, although this phenomenon is known among other peoples, the relationship between the two is unique to Samoyed folklore.

It has been asserted that in Samoyed poetry one cannot talk about meter, poetic feet, nor rhyme. Indeed, there is no metrical regularity in the basic text without the melody. However, the basic text cannot exist by itself; it comes to life only in a transformed linguistic form. The improvised, metrically free basic text becomes metrically bound as it follows the rhythmic and metric pattern of the melody.

Certain lines of the improvised basic text have fewer syllables than required by the melodic line. Therefore, when sung, these shorter lines have to be stretched out so as to fit the

melodic line. To adjust the basic text to the bars of the melody, verse filler syllables (e.g. -jō-, -ōw-, äj-) or verse filler words (e.g. ḡäej, ḡōw) are inserted at the end of the line, between the words in the line, sometimes even into a word; or sometimes the initial or final syllables of certain words may be repeated. The verse filler elements do not have any semantic or grammatical-morphological significance, but are created exclusively for rhythmic and metric purposes. At times so many of these verse fillers are used that the basic text becomes distorted beyond recognition, and it is very difficult to understand the text without additional explanation.

Many Nenets songs have a conventional opening line consisting of the following two words: máni? jīl'ewəwa? 'we lived (we lived on)'. These two words are actualized in various ways during the singing, depending on the melody. In one song, for instance, it is like this: maññow | jīllōw - | əwwōw ḡäε-äε-äε-äj; in another, it has another shape: ma-a | ño-ōw | jīllo | wewōw | ḡä-äj (the phones and syllables with double underlining do not belong to the basic text).

The verse filler elements provide the number of syllables required by the song, form the rhythm of the verse, and at the same time through the assonance of the line-final refrains establish simple rhymes. The Samoyeds do not consider the basic texts to be pleasing without the verse fillers and are not willing to recite them. It is obvious that the basic text without the rhyme and rhythm does not satisfy their esthetic sense; they regard it as an unpoetic abstract of the poetic work.

Samoyed verse, therefore, cannot be separated from a specific melody, it exists only together with the melody, and is suitable for metrical studies only if the changes caused by the melody are also taken into consideration. Unfortunately, however, the number of texts recorded with both the melody and the verse fillers are much too few even for purposes of stating general rules about the major forms of Samoyed metrics. There is a rich stock of melodies, and the rhythmic pattern seems to be varied. However, the songs sound strange to people used to European music. They seem monotonous because the melodic line is based only on two or three notes, and these few notes are repeated in every line or in every other line, over

and over, in seemingly endless sequences. The rhythmic pattern of a melodic line consisting of a few notes, not built on a chromatic scale, strongly melismatic, changes frequently even within a song.

Truly good singers perform their songs with deep and sincere artistic feeling, and the audience which has gathered in the tent listens with rapt attention for hours to the words of the singer, and watches the gestures with which the singer emphasizes parts of the story during the performance. The sincerity and the peculiar charm of such a performance fascinates even the outside observer.

Characteristic of the style of Samoyed epic songs are ever-recurring stereotyped dialogues and monologues, full of metaphorical epithets, references to life in the North, idiomatic expressions, and various opening and ending formulae. In the shaman songs such interjections, exclamations, and refrain particles occur even more frequently. These words, by their very nature, are capable of keeping the audience in suspense or at attention, and heighten the mystery of the ceremony.

Tales are of secondary importance in comparison to songs. This branch of folklore is the most affected by foreign influence, although in most cases it is impossible to determine how and from where certain motifs have come. Mythological and cosmological legends, full of astonishing events and happenings, and etiological tales reflecting the northern way of life seem to be original among the Nenets tales and legends. The etiological tales explain, with rich and colorful imagination, the physiological characteristics, habits and colors of certain animals and birds. However, similar etiological tales can be found among other northern peoples.

Some of the tales are performed in a chanting rhythmic prose, which no doubt can be explained by the high development of oral music. In order to make the text fit the set rhythmic pattern, it is modified and enlarged in the same manner as in the songs.

Tales serve mainly for purposes of entertainment. The audience does not consider them to be true stories. However, the people have quite a different attitude toward their epic songs dealing with the events of olden times. The ideological and artistic messages of these epics fill the audience with solemnity,

and accordingly these songs are the most respected and valued items of folklore.

Riddles, told in the form of short tales, are also widely found. The majority of these, however, are common cultural property of the arctic and subarctic peoples.

Sel'kup folklore may have been very similar to that of the northern Samoyeds. This is suggested by the few samples of folklore collected by Castrén among the Sel'kup more than a century ago. At the beginning of our century, Kai Donner succeeded in discovering in these collections the prosaic fragments of an old folk epos which, in many respects, show connections with the Nenets heroic epic. The stories about Ite, the hero of the Sel'kup epic, have been augmented with many foreign elements throughout the ages. Many new borrowings can be analyzed in them, from the Orpheus motif to the appearance of Christ. In spite of these facts, this "epos" is a very valuable relic of the scanty and disappearing Sel'kup folklore, since it reflects the ancient world view, and the religious and totemistic concepts of the Sel'kup.

7.2. So far, only the new Nenets intelligentsia have produced any independent literary works. Their first literary creations are connected with the names of Tyko Vylko, who translated Pushkin and Lermontov, and with the dramatists I. F. Noho and I. G. Istomin. Developing Nenets literature has begun to establish traditional European literary forms, as well as native literary forms and styles. Of the new literary personalities, the following names should be mentioned: V. Ledkov, A. Pichkov, I. Yuganpelik and L. Laptuya.

Notes

1. The folk poetry of the Enets, Nganasan, and some of that of the Sel'kup is known to us only through translations or descriptions.

8. THE HISTORY OF THE SAMOYEDS

8. Castrén claimed that the ancient Samoyeds lived on the slopes of the Altai, or Sayan, Mountains. According to him, this was also the ancient home of the Finno-Ugrians. Later research, however, has shown that the ancient Uralic home was not in southern Siberia but on the western side of the Ural Mountains, around the bend of the Volga, along the Kama and Vyatka Rivers, and in the territories somewhat farther east.

Dissolution of the Uralic linguistic group occurred several thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era. By about 3,000 B. C. the ancient Finno-Ugrians were living separately from the Samoyeds. When the ancient Samoyeds left the Uralic group, most probably they headed toward the east, but did not leave the woodlands. They must have remained in communication for a while with the other group of the Uralic linguistic family, the Finno-Ugrians, but even this connection was later broken off. The Proto-Samoyeds remained for a long time on the taiga of western Siberia, where the southern group of the Vogul now lives, or even farther south, but certainly above the northern edge of the pine forests (at 57° latitude). They had little contact with other peoples, and we know nothing of that part of their history. They still had a common language, and lived the life of a fishing and hunting folk. They used stone or wooden tipped arrows, and they caught game and fish using traps and nets of birchbark and sinews. Their domestic animal was the dog, which they probably also used as a draft animal, since they were familiar with the sled. Judging by its name, the reindeer was also known to them, but they certainly did not raise it on the same scale as they now do. Perhaps they did not even use the reindeer as a domestic animal at first. They had boats hewn out of tree trunks, as well as hammers and axes. They were also familiar with skis. Their

food consisted of the flesh and blood of animals, and of fish. They knew fire, and hence were able to cook (in pots), but they probably liked to eat their meat raw even then. This is attested by their word for tapeworm, which can be traced to this period. Their language provides little information concerning their dress. The ancient origin of their word for belt indicates that they fastened their clothing with belts. They sewed their clothing with needles and sinews. Their homes were ancient kota-type buildings or tents, in which there were also beds, probably of much the same form as today—skins spread on the ground. They were prepared for barter trade. In the Bronze Age they also had metalworkers. The ancient Samoyeds must have lived in conditions such as the above, and their advance to the north and northeast was peaceful, in the nature of a quiet conquest, rather than accompanied by bloody battles.

They first came in contact with Turkic peoples during the era of Proto-Samoyed linguistic unity. This contact might have occurred about the first centuries B. C. As appears from reliable data provided by Chinese almanacs, some Turkic tribes (probably Uygur) had gotten as far as the borders of Europe by about 200 B. C., as a result of the pressures of the restless peoples behind them. The westernmost and northwesternmost of these were the people known to the Chinese as the Ting-ling, who occupied the region of the Irtysh and Ob' Rivers—that is, the territory that was at least partly occupied by the Samoyeds. That the Ting-ling people really lived among other peoples (meaning the Samoyeds) in this territory is indicated by the passage in the Wei-lie which relates that there lived among the Ting-ling a fur trading people who spoke a strange language, and slid faster on their "hoofs" than a horse. This description without doubt depicts peoples moving on skis, and the significance of the word 'hoof' can be correctly understood only if we know that the Nganasan, even today, wear a peculiar kind of boot. The front part of the boot is not indented at the instep, but has a perfectly cylindrical shape. Hence the bottom of the boot indeed resembles the hoof of a horse.

It is difficult to determine the exact nature of the first contact of the Samoyeds with Altaic peoples, whether this contact was occasional and brief or whether it was prolonged,

and whether their relationship was that of allies or of rulers and subjects. At any rate, it seems probable that the first contacts between these peoples were peaceful, and that they were marked by mutual trade relations and cooperation. This is suggested by the words in the Samoyed languages which are of Turkic origin (money, sable, hull, hundred).

The supposed connection between the Samoyeds and the so-called Yenisey peoples attests to the eastward expansion of the Samoyeds. At that time, the Yenisey peoples, who are the ancestors of the still existing Ket (Yenisey Ostyaks), and also of the now extinct Kot, Arin and Assin, lived in southern Siberia, in the Altai-Sayan Mountain region, and further west of that region. Judging by the evidence provided by Yenisey loanwords in the Samoyed languages, the Proto-Samoyeds reached the Altai region during the centuries immediately preceding our era.

The beginning of our era marked the dissolution of the Samoyeds. Only then, as the Proto-Samoyed period gradually ended, did the Samoyed groups begin to scatter all over the northern areas of Siberia. The northern group of the Samoyeds may have separated from the southern group in the first few centuries of our era, and reached the northern part of Siberia by the second half of the first millennium (later, some of the groups migrated across to the coastal, tundra regions of northeastern Europe, and settled there). For a while the southern group remained in its former location, but fairly soon one part of it (the ancestors of the present day Sel'kup) headed northeastward, toward the middle course of the Ob', while the other part moved to the Sayan Mountains.

The present Samoyed peoples and languages have, therefore, developed as a result of this scattering, and through mixture with the subarctic or Turkic peoples encountered in the areas of their new settlements.

The first mention of the Samoyeds in western sources is found in the Nestor Chronicle, in connection with the events of the year 1096. The chronicle takes cognizance of them as a mountain dwelling people near the Yugra. The Samoyed peoples mentioned in the Kiev chronicles can be identified only with the Nenets. We must conclude, then, that this group of Samoyeds had reached the borders of Europe and Siberia as early as the

eleventh century that, in fact, they had even reached the European side of the Ural Mountains. The eastern (trans-Uralic) Samoyeds are first mentioned in the report of the papal envoy, Plano Carpini, in 1246. These are the first definite mentions of the Samoyeds. Later we find complete descriptions of them, but these must be recognized as based upon rumors and strongly colored by the imagination. The first such description is found in a fifteenth century Novgorod manuscript entitled: "An account of the unknown peoples of the eastern territories."¹ From then on, the amount of more detailed and reliable information increases along with the rate at which the Russians explored and conquered more and more new territories of Siberia. Later, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Samoyeds became known in Europe through the travel descriptions of Olearius, Ides, Le Brun, Witsen, and their associates.

The Samoyeds who lived in Europe must have come under Russian rule, or at least Russian influence, about 1200. But the Russian campaigns against the trans-Uralic Samoyeds did not begin until the fourteenth century. In 1346, Aleksandr Abakunovich and Stepan Lyapa led a campaign against the peoples of the Ob' region, and at this time they undoubtedly managed to conquer temporarily one or two Samoyed tribes. The power of the Novgorodians did not become firm until they had taken over all of Yugria (during the sixteenth century); however, the struggles between the natives and the Russians lasted throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Russian successes were in large measure due to the adventurer and military commander, Yermak. I shall give no details of the battles that took place during this time, but I shall sketch in a few words the tactics used in the conquest of Siberia. I can designate Yermak's military policies by the contemporary word "blitzkrieg." He tried to consolidate Russian rule by overrunning a large territory. Naturally, opposition and rebellion sprang up in the conquered territory that he left behind him. After his death, in fact, Siberia did for a time free itself from Russian control, and toward the end of the sixteenth century it became necessary to initiate new campaigns to reestablish control over unruly natives. The tactics employed by the two provincial officials—voyevody—entrusted with this task, Vasily Sukin and Ivan Myasnoy, differed from those used by Yermak. They did not

forge boldly forward, but halted at the Tura River and founded the town of Tyumen (1586). From this comparatively safe fortress they conquered the surrounding tribes one by one. In the more important conquered territories they built new towns, or rather fortresses, and thus penetrated more and more deeply into Siberia. The Russians discovered that they could achieve the complete conquest of Siberia only with the aid of fortifications erected at focal points along the rivers. One after the other, there mushroomed the beginnings of today's towns of Tobol'sk (1587), Pelym and Berezov (1593), Surgut (1594), Obdorsk [now Salekhard] (1595), Narym, Ket (1596), Turinsk (1600). During this period they also decided to subject to compulsory taxation the Samoyeds living between the Ob' and the Yenisey. This experiment, however, misfired. Prince Miron Shakhovskoy traveled down the Ob' with a hundred men, intending to cross the sea to the Taz, and to approach the Samoyeds by rowing up that river. By mistake, however, they rowed instead into the Pur River, which also empties into the sea. Upon landing, they got into a battle on the tundra with a Samoyed tribe. Thirty of the hundred Cossacks were left on the battlefield, and even the rest barely made their escape. The Russians, of course, were not satisfied merely to accept this reverse; in the very next year (1601), in the course of a campaign to the Taz, they established the town of Mangazeya. By 1607, the power of this town had spread not only to the neighboring Samoyeds but even to the Ket living along the Yenisey River and to the Tungus of Lower Tunguska.² Then the city of Turukhansk was founded. These fortified settlements, each headed by a governor, were not only administrative centers, but also became centers of economic and cultural life. With the founding of Turukhansk, the whole Yenisey area was brought under Russian control.

The Russians then advanced toward the Taymyr Peninsula, where they made taxpayers out of the inhabitants of the Pyasina River area (1614). After the foundation of Yeniseysk and Krasnoyarsk (in 1615 and 1628, respectively), almost all of Siberia was in their hands. Thus it was that the Samoyeds came under the rule of the Russian Empire. To the smaller southern Samoyed tribes this did not mean much of a change, however, as they had lost their independence even before the Russian campaigns, having been taxpayers of the Tatar Empire.

The new connections with the Russians established in the course of colonization mark the beginning of the slow process of civilization for the inhabitants of Siberia. New tools and equipment, new metal products, and new means of making fire were introduced. Of course, there are two sides to a coin—yasak, a form of compulsory taxation was imposed on the Samoyeds by the Czar's government. It was usually paid in hides and furs; not until later, at the end of the eighteenth century, and in some areas only in the nineteenth century, was the system changed into monetary taxation. Taxation was actually unregulated in many places. The Samoyeds were compelled to pay as much as they could afford, and quite often even more, so that sometimes they had to resort to continuous loans in order to be able to pay taxes. As a result, a whole reindeer herd, used as security, might go to the money-lender. The tax burden was made even heavier by the fact that extra fees and presents had to be given to government officials and to other public servants. The church too was quite strict in collecting a share. Because of both severe taxation and compulsory baptism, the conquered peoples were very hostile toward their oppressors, and expressed their dissatisfaction by attacking Russian settlements.

Although near the beginning of the nineteenth century the Speranskiy statute (1822) promised the Samoyeds some autonomy and better living conditions, this promise was never fulfilled.

The wealth of the starshiny, who were the appointed leaders of the native populations, increased noticeably; it was their duty to collect taxes, and quite often they also received fees for serving as judges. The majority of the population, however, became completely impoverished.

The most significant of the revolts against the oppression of the Czar and against the abuses of the merchants was the uprising of the Taz and Obdorsk Nenets, led by Vauli Piettomini (also called Vavlyo Nyenyang) near the end of the 1830's. Vauli was captured, but, after escaping from prison in 1841, organized an army consisting of about four hundred Ostyaks and Nenets, and advanced against Obdorsk. His attack ended in failure.

In 1856 Pany Toho, Tum Pæe and others organized new uprisings, but all these attempts were quelled.

In the second half of the nineteenth century large trading firms from Arkhangelsk, Tobol'sk and Krasnoyarsk penetrated into even remote areas of Siberia. These firms not only took over the fur trading business of the area, but also acquired the best fishing places, thus practically dominating the economy. Since the reindeer herds had been thinned out by repeated epidemics, soon some of the reindeer keepers became the merchants' debtors, and later became completely dependent on the merchants. In many places the majority of the herds became the property of Russian or Zyrian merchants and other wealthy people. It is characteristic of the situation that in 1895, in the Pechora regions, 230,000 reindeer belonged to outsiders, and only 50,000 were left in Nenets ownership.

The 1917 Socialist Revolution marks the beginning of significant changes in the history of these peoples. In the following paragraphs we will give a brief survey showing how the life of the Samoyeds has changed during the decades of the Soviet regime.

Areas with a population consisting mostly of Samoyeds were granted administrative autonomy. This was done by establishing tribal councils at the beginning of the 1920's, but with the dissolution of the tribal system, these organizations were replaced by administrative units based on locality. In 1929 and 1930, the Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets, and Taymyr national okrugs, uniting the local councils, were established, and thus the majority of the Samoyeds came under a unified administration.

The national districts (okrugs), and the newly established cities or urban centers (Naryan-Mar, Amderma, Salekhard, Ustyport, Dudinka, Noril'sk, Karaul, etc.) played important roles in the development of the new economic and cultural life.

The most characteristic change in the economy has been collectivization, and the first step in establishing a collective economy was the formation of groups for collective fishing, or to take care of reindeer herds collectively. Later, the first kolkhozes developed from these groups. The first kolkhoz among the Samoyeds was a Nenets kolkhoz established in 1929, followed by a series of new kolkhozes within a few years.

The idea of communal, collective production was not unfamiliar to the Samoyeds, since the tribal system preserved, in many respects, some of the characteristic traits of primitive

collectivism. Nevertheless, many difficulties had to be faced in the course of establishing the kolkhozes. The Samoyeds were hostile toward new forms of collectivism for a long time, for various reasons—because of antipropaganda carried on for a time by influential merchants and wealthy property owners, because of fear of giving up old customs and traditions, and often for quite insignificant reasons.

In establishing collective farms, care was taken not to build on tribal organization in the kolkhozes. At the beginning, however, the kolkhoz lands more or less coincided with previous clan territories, and it was quite common at the beginning of the 1930's for the kolkhozes to be established according to clan divisions. Later on, fishing, hunting, and grazing territories were divided as seemed most advantageous for the kolkhoz. Aside from this, the formation of collective groups consisting of members belonging to different clans was also urged. Extensive explanatory campaigns were needed to break down the traditional division of labor among men and women. As a result of these campaigns, today women in many places are performing work which was forbidden to them earlier by the rules of tribal society. In the areas inhabited by Samoyeds the process of collectivization was completed in 1950.

The main source of income for the Samoyed kolkhozes is still reindeer keeping. For this very reason, in the beginning many nomadic kolkhozes were established, especially in the territories of the tundra reindeer breeders. These kolkhozes did not have permanent centers, but moved regularly with their reindeer herds. Fishing and hunting kolkhozes were also established along with these nomadic ones, among the semisedentary or sedentary population. One of the aims of the collectivization policy in northern areas was to persuade the population to settle down. For this reason, in 1952 nomadic reindeer breeding kolkhozes and sedentary fishing kolkhozes were merged. Thus nomads obtained permanent dwellings, and no longer had to wander along with the reindeer herds with their families. Herding the reindeer became the job of only the herdsmen, and the members of the herdsmen's families were able to work in the kolkhoz center, obtaining yet another source of income. The income of the fishing kolkhozes, on the other hand, was increased by the profit from livestock, consisting of thousands

of reindeer. The merger of kolkhozes with diverse activities has made the development of complex farming possible. Thus the kolkhozes have obtained a significant amount of extra income, and at the same time an important step forward has been taken in the plans directed at settling the population.

Permanent settling of the population has been helped by a decree in 1951, which enabled permanently settled nomads to get long term loans of 15,000 rubles. Thus, nowadays, even on the tundras, the typical Samoyed tents have been replaced by permanent wooden houses providing better shelter against severe weather.

The gradual settling of the population and the complex type kolkhozes have made the introduction of new branches of farming easier. In several places, cattle breeding and agriculture have been attempted and quite a few kolkhozes have tried fur farming.

Newly introduced, more advanced farming methods, sanitary systems, as well as the development of transportation and industry serve the growth of economic life. Today, reindeer drawn sleds are not the only means of transportation in northern territories. Sea and river navigation has become more frequent and regular, and the Pechora railway line goes up to Khal'mer-Yu, one of the northernmost points in the Nenets national okrug. South of Vorkuta, this railway line has a branch line to the east, leading to Labytnangi, a settlement on the left bank of the Ob', across from Salekhard, the capital of the Yamalo-Nenets national okrug. A railroad has also been built between Dudinka and Noril'sk, situated at the base of the Taymyr Peninsula. These few railway lines are of course not able to take care of the traffic of northwestern Siberia. Therefore, airlines provide passenger and freight service to larger settlements.

Hospitals and first-aid centers have been built, and lectures are given on problems of health, proper nourishment, etc. Veterinary service has also been organized, so livestock today is safe from epidemics.

Industrialization has reached even the remote northern areas. A large industrial center, Noril'sk, has been built to utilize the rich nickel, copper, cobalt, coal and platinum resources of the Taymyr Peninsula. A new seaport, Igarka, has been established at the mouth of the Yenisey which at the same

time is the center of the subarctic lumber industry. Illiteracy, which had been practically one hundred per cent in these areas, was also attacked even during the first five year plan. Compulsory schooling was instituted. For this, naturally, schools, teachers, and school books were needed.

The first school to teach in Samoyed, to be more precise, in Sel'kup, was opened in 1925 in Yanov-Stan, situated on the upper course of the Turukhan River. This first Samoyed school, however, was only the first attempt in establishing education in the native language (It was organized and taught by the well known scholar of the Samoyed Languages, G. N. Prokof'ev).

Before the systematic establishment of native language education it was necessary to create a writing system for the Samoyeds. During the 1930's two Samoyed languages reached the stage of writing: Nenets and Sel'kup. Of the two, the Nenets language has raised itself to a literary standard. While usage of the Sel'kup language is limited to elementary school teaching, not only schoolbooks were written in Nenets, but tales, translations, and independent literary works have been published as well. Newspapers of the national districts regularly publish articles, news and literary works written in the Nenets language, so that it has become the most cultivated Samoyed language. In view of the small number of the Enets and Nganasan, no special schoolbooks have been published in these languages.

The number of schools in the Nenets autonomous district tripled between 1930 and 1950. In 1953 schools were in operation in which 60,000 Nenets, Zyrian, and Russian children studied (naturally only a small proportion of these are Nenets). In some schools the lower grades are taught in Nenets. In 1931 there were only seven schools in the Yamalo-Nenets national district, but in 1957 there were already sixty-eight. Out of these sixty-eight schools, forty-six are ethnic schools; twenty-four Nenets, eleven Ostyak, five Sel'kup, and six mixed. During the academic year 1957-1958, 1306 Nenets, 618 Ostyak and 260 Sel'kup pupils were enrolled in these schools. (As a comparison, we mention that during the academic year 1930-1931, only thirty-five, and in the following year, 544 Nenets and Ostyak students were enrolled in the schools of the Yamal district). Fifty schools have been established in the Taymyr national district, (not counting the educational institutions of the city of Noril'sk).

The southern Sel'kup attend Russian schools, because there it has not been possible to create the conditions required for native language teaching.

Teachers for native language teaching are trained at the teachers' training colleges in Naryanmar and Salekhard, and also at the Institute of the Peoples of the North at the Pedagogical College in Leningrad (Herzen Institute).

Notes

1. The Enets tribal names moḡkansi and bay first appear in this manuscript in the form Molgonse and Baid.

2. Mangazeya burned down in 1642, and its inhabitants moved to the more centrally located town of Turukhansk (which they also called New Mangazeya).

9. SAMOYED CONTACTS WITH FOREIGN PEOPLES

9. The oldest contacts of the Samoyeds were with Turkic peoples. This we have discussed in the preceding, and we might add that Turkic influence has been strongest on the southern Samoyed languages. After the dissolution of the Proto-Samoyeds, the southern group, on account of its geographical location, had further occasion in the course of their history for contact with Turkic tribes; in fact, some of the southern Samoyed tribes have maintained these contacts to the present day. In many places, the proximity of Turkic peoples led to interchange of language and ethnic character (in the case of the Sayan Samoyed tribes). In the period of Proto-Samoyed-Turkic contacts, many Turkic cultural terms found their way into the Samoyed languages (e. g. horse, silver, hundred, sheath, worm, sable, to write, etc.), but Samoyed words went into Turkic in exchange (e. g. the word for 'iron' in the Kirghiz language came from the early Sel'kup language). The name the Sel'kup have for the Tatars is *tŷ*. In Kai Donner's opinion, this word may be identical with the name Ti-li (Ting-ling) for the Uigurs, and from this one may draw the conclusion that the Samoyeds had their first contacts with a people of the Uigur type. (The dropping of the final -l testifies to the age of the borrowing.) More recent Turkic influence has spread to almost every dialect of the Sel'kup language (sometimes even to the Taz and Turukhan dialects). In this stratum of the loanwords we find the names for various relatives, rulers, heroes, types of grain, certain words connected with the raising of animals (cow, lamb, pig), and cultural terms (pipe, cup, bride price, tax, etc.). More recent Turkic influence has had its strongest effect on the Sayan Samoyed languages. Almost thirty per cent of the words of Donner's material are Altaic loans (mainly Turkic). Far fewer words borrowed from Turkic are to be found in the Nenets

languages. Some of these words got into Nenets via the Sel'kup, and some were borrowed at the time of Proto-Samoyed-Turkic contacts. Comparatively recently, Turkic words also came into the Nganasan and Enets languages through the Ket. Contact between the Samoyeds and the Mongols supposedly began during the Proto-Samoyed era. At least this is indicated by some Samoyed words of unclear etymology, but thought to be of Mongol origin (e.g. words meaning 'boots,' 'brain,' 'fish roe,' 'hair,'). About forty Buryat-Mongol loanwords in the Sayan Samoyed languages testify to the continuation of Mongol linguistic influence after the separation of the Samoyeds. These words, no doubt, came into the language in the period when the Sayan Samoyeds were the vassals of the Mongols, before the Russian conquest. Some of these words could have reached the Sayan Samoyeds by way of the Altai Turkic languages, however.

The influence of the Tungus languages on the Samoyed is generally of recent origin, and can be observed primarily in places where the Samoyeds live near the Tungus. Especially the northern groups of the Sel'kup language, as well as the Nganasan and Enets, show striking Tungus influence, not only linguistically, but also culturally. Some etymologies, nonetheless, point to previous, closer contacts between the Samoyeds and the Tungus.

Around the beginning of our era the Iranian peoples played an important rôle in the history of civilization in western Asia and in western Siberia. Thus it is justified to ask whether traces of this influence might be found in the form of Iranian loanwords in the Samoyed languages. Theoretically, in any case, we must consider the possibility that Iranian words were borrowed by Proto-Samoyed. Indeed, several Samoyed words are suspected to have an Iranian origin, but the etymologies of these words are not quite satisfactory. Furthermore, we also must take into account the possibility that Iranian loanwords in the Samoyed languages came by way of Turkic languages.

Until now scholars have thought the contacts between the Samoyed and Yenisey peoples to be of recent origin. But a study by Joki has convinced me that the Samoyeds and the Yeniseys (the predecessors of today's Ket, and of the now extinct Kott, Arin and Assan) were in contact with each other as

early as the beginning of the Christian era. Of the Sel'kup dialects, the Ket and Turukhan are even now in constant contact with the Ket language.

The influence of the Russian language on the Samoyed languages, especially in more recent times, has been great. Words of Russian origin comprise a comparatively large part of the vocabulary of the Samoyed languages. The number of words of Russian origin has especially increased during the last forty years, when it became necessary to acquaint the natives, through Samoyed schools established by the Soviet government, with innumerable new concepts of a higher level of living, in the Samoyed literary language.

The Samoyeds in their present location have had contacts with other languages besides those mentioned.

Linguistic and cultural contacts between the Ob-Ugric and Samoyed languages are well known. These contacts are attested mainly by mutual borrowings among the Tundra Nenets and the Voguls and Ostyaks. Lesser known are the linguistic contacts of the eastern Ostyak languages with the Forest Nenets and Sel'kup, although quite a few loanwords testify to the influence of these dialects on each other. It was the Samoyeds (Nenets) who acquainted not only their Ob-Ugric neighbors but also the Zyrians, living in northeastern Europe, with the techniques of reindeer husbandry. Many technical terms connected with this occupation can be found in the Zyrian language, and Zyrian influence on the Samoyed languages must not be disregarded (part of these words came into Samoyed via the Ob-Ugric languages). Undoubtedly, there are quite a few words of Yakut and Dolgan origin in the Nganasan language, but linguistic science still owes us their discovery.

It is certain that when the Samoyeds moved northward from their settlements further south, they did not find themselves in uninhabited areas. We must take into account a former sub-arctic population, especially in the area of the present day northern Samoyed settlements, which either moved further east when the Samoyeds appeared, or was absorbed by the Samoyeds. We do not know the language of this old, northern Siberian (Paleosiberian) hunting people, but it is more than likely that this unknown language (or languages) enriched the Samoyed languages as well. Possibly this could account for

similarities in vocabulary between the Samoyed and certain Paleosiberian languages.

10. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMOYED LANGUAGES

10. Introducing the systems of the Samoyed languages is no easy task. For one thing, they are so complicated phonologically and morphologically that we must content ourselves, in such a brief account, with introducing only a few of their characteristic features; for another, the divergences among the Samoyed languages, that is between the northern and southern Samoyed languages, are so great that it would be essential to describe separately the system of each language. However, this could be accomplished only very incompletely. We wish to present the Samoyed languages through characterizing the Nenets and Sel'kup linguistic systems to a certain extent. This is the most practical choice, since the most detailed descriptions available pertain to these two languages. The lesser known Enets and Nganasan languages, as well as the already extinct Kamas language will only be briefly described.

10.1.1. Although the size of the territory over which the Nenets language is spoken could be expressed only in the millions of square kilometers, dialectal differentiation of the language is not as significant as one might expect. This can be explained by leveling among the languages of nomadic peoples in the course of their wanderings.

The Nenets language has two main dialect groups: the Tundra and the Forest dialect groups. The greatest differences are found between these two dialect groups because of limited contact between them. The dialects are so divergent that they are mutually comprehensible only with great difficulty.

The Tundra Nenets dialect group is divided into three major dialects: the Western, the Central and the Eastern dialects.

The Western dialect is divided into the Kanin and Malaya Zemlya dialects. The Central dialect is the one spoken on Bol'shaya Zemlya.

The Eastern dialect has the following varieties: Yamal, Ob', Nadym, Upper Pur, Taz.

The Central dialect (Boľshaya Zemlya) is spoken by the majority of speakers.

The Forest Nenets dialect group may be divided into two main dialect groups, the Western and the Eastern. The Purim and Agam dialects belong to the Western (most widespread) dialect group, and the Lyamin and Nyalina dialects belong to the Eastern dialect group.

The following table illustrates some phonological differences between Tundra and Forest Nenets.

<u>Tundra</u>	<u>Forest</u>		<u>Tundra</u>	<u>Forest</u>	
<u>j-</u>	<u>ŵ-</u>	(< *w-)	<u>jěše</u>	<u>ŵieše</u>	'iron'
<u>j-</u>	<u>ď-</u>	(< *j-)	<u>jaha</u> (West.)	<u>ďahale</u>	'twin'
<u>h-</u>	<u>k-</u>	(< *k-)	<u>har</u>	<u>kar</u>	'knife'
<u>s-</u>	<u>h-</u>	(< *s-)	<u>sūjū</u>	<u>hōjū</u>	'reindeer calf'
<u>ť-</u>	<u>č-</u>	(< *ť-)	<u>ťamtε?</u>	<u>čamtäst</u>	'frog'
<u>-l-</u>	<u>-r-</u>	(< *-l-)	<u>nyl</u> (West.)	<u>ny^</u>	'down'
			(East.)	<u>nyr</u>	'under'
<u>-w-</u>	<u>-m-</u>	(< *-m-)	<u>wəwa</u>	<u>wäema</u>	'bad'
<u>-ď-</u>	<u>-č-</u>	(< *-ť-)	<u>ňadī</u>	<u>načie</u>	'it seems, shows'
<u>-d-</u>	<u>-t-</u>	(< *-t-)	<u>mādā</u>	<u>matā</u>	'to cut'
<u>-b-</u>	<u>-p-</u>	(< *-p-)	<u>wəba</u>	<u>ŵiepa</u>	'leaf (of tree)'
<u>-ʔ -</u>	<u>-ŋ-</u>	(< *-ŋ-)	<u>ňa?</u>	<u>ňan</u>	'mouth'
<u>-ʔ -</u>	<u>-n</u>	(< *-n-)	<u>mū?</u>	<u>mūn</u>	'voice'
<u>-ʔ</u> (East.)	<u>-t</u>	(< *-t)	<u>řnā?</u>	<u>řneat</u>	'tent'
<u>-</u> (East.)	<u>-s</u>	(< *-s)	<u>hādε?</u>	<u>katäes</u>	'resin, tar'

The differences between the two consonantal systems show that the consonantism of Forest Nenets is more archaic than that of Tundra Nenets.

There are some differences in vocalism between the two dialects, although actually the vowel systems of these two dialects are fairly close to each other. One difference, which may be generalized, is the fact that quite often a diphthong (or

triphthong) in the Forest dialect corresponds to a long vowel in the Tundra dialect (especially after palatalized consonants). In other cases, however, a monophthong of a different quality may correspond to a Tundra monophthong. The differences in the vowel systems usually show up in non-initial syllables. However, it can be seen from the following table that there are also some initial syllables with different vocalism.

Vowel alternations in initial syllables

<u>Tundra</u>		<u>Forest</u>	<u>Tundra</u>	<u>Forest</u>	
<u>ā</u>	~	<u>eā</u>	<u>jām</u> ?	<u>jeam</u>	'river, sea'
<u>ē</u>	~	<u>ie</u>	<u>jēs</u>	<u>wies</u>	'to take care'
<u>ī</u>	~	<u>ie</u>	<u>śīwa</u>	<u>śiewa</u>	'shovel'
<u>ē</u>	~	<u>yε</u>	<u>ḡerm</u>	<u>ḡyerm</u>	'north'
<u>āε</u>	~	<u>ŷ, yε</u>	<u>ḡāerū</u>	<u>ḡŷlū</u>	'autumn'
<u>ā</u>	~	<u>ŷ</u>	<u>ḡāmi</u>	<u>ḡŷji</u>	'another'

Vowel alternations in non-initial syllables

<u>Tundra</u>		<u>Forest</u>	<u>Tundra</u>	<u>Forest</u>	
<u>a</u>	~	<u>y</u>	<u>nybarć</u>	<u>nypyrs</u>	'to press together'
<u>ī</u>	~	<u>ie</u>	<u>ḡadī</u>	<u>ḡacie</u>	'it shows, seems'
<u>ε(āε)</u>	~	<u>āei, εy,</u> <u>ŷ</u>	<u>warḡe</u>	<u>warḡāei</u> <u>warḡŷ</u>	'crow'
<u>ē</u>	~	<u>eā</u>	<u>ḡōñēr</u> ?	<u>ḡoñeār</u>	'heap, pile'
<u>ō (ū)</u>	~	<u>ū</u>	<u>ḡanō</u>	<u>ḡanū</u>	'boat'
<u>y</u>	~	<u>āε, ē</u>	<u>nyhy</u>	<u>nyhāε</u> <u>nyhē</u>	'strength, power'

The lexicon of the Tundra and Forest Nenets dialects is more or less the same, although in several instances the same concept is expressed by a different word.

<u>Tundra</u>	<u>Forest</u>	
<u>ńā́mú</u>	<u>šie</u>	'tongue'
<u>jūna</u>	<u>lāw</u>	'horse'
<u>to?</u>	<u>hýlm̄k</u>	'sable'
<u>tīwak</u>	<u>kypūj</u>	'lungs'
<u>ńoje</u>	<u>mytāe</u>	'eel-pout, burbot'
<u>wyć</u>	<u>śiraś</u>	'to gladden'
<u>pāwar?</u>	<u>ćien</u>	'beam (timber)'
<u>tūńī</u>	<u>pōskān</u>	'gun'

The grammatical structure of the Tundra and Forest dialect groups is identical. Differences can be observed only in the phonemic shape of morphological elements.

The Tundra dialects, as we have stated above, are very close to each other. The most significant differences can be found in the Western dialect as opposed to the Eastern and Central dialects. In the most typical Western dialect, in the Kanin dialect, for instance, there is no initial ŋ- (or to be more precise, it is morphophonemically conditioned), and therefore there are words beginning with a vowel in this dialect (Kan. arka ~ BZ. [dialect of Bol'shaya Zemlya] ŋarka 'great, big'). In the other dialects words cannot begin with a vowel. The following changes are characteristic of the Western dialect: word-medial denasalization (e.g., BZ jēŋka ~ Kan. jēga); the contraction of Eastern and Central initial ŋaw- to ō (BZ. ŋaworć ~ Kan. ōrć 'to eat'); and vowel lengthening and syllable contraction by loss of intervocalic -h- (BZ ńahar? ~ Kan. ńār 'three').

Between the Eastern and Central dialects there are, first of all, certain phonological differences. Among these differences, the u vowel of the Eastern dialect seems to be most important as opposed to o in the literary language (Central and Western dialects). This characteristic u usually occurs in final position (E. ńēncu ~ C., W. ńēnsu; the diminutive suffix

-ko appears as -ku in the Eastern dialects, and the third person plural suffix -to? occurs as -tu?). However, some of the Eastern dialects (on the Yamal Peninsula and in the vicinity of the Ob') are closer to the o dialects, because of the proximity of the Central dialect areas.

Other, occasionally occurring dialectal characteristics:

<u>Western</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Eastern</u>		
		<u>Yamal, Ob'</u>	<u>Taz, Pur, Yenisey</u>	
<u>pyda</u>	<u>pyda</u>	<u>pyda</u> ~ <u>pada</u>	<u>puda</u>	'he, she'
<u>m̄yḍ</u>	<u>mūd</u>	<u>mūd</u>	<u>m̄yḍ</u>	'liver'

10.12. The most characteristic trait of the Nenets phonological system is the phenomenon that front vowels can occur only after palatalized consonants, and back vowels only after non-palatalized consonants. Because of this peculiarity, a syllabic palatal correlation has developed, which does not, however affect the final consonant of a closed syllable (thus the following syllabic combinations may occur: palatalized consonant + front vowel + non-palatalized consonant; non-palatalized consonant, + back vowel + palatalized consonant, e.g., ṣēd 'saucer' - mās̄ 'enough').

Palatalization is involved in one of the most important oppositions in the language. Each consonant has its palatalized counterpart, with the exception of h, k, and ŋ (therefore, these consonants can be followed only by back vowels).¹

The voiced-voiceless opposition is phonologically irrelevant to the consonants. The opposition of the phonemes p - b and t - d is not in the presence or absence of voicing; rather, it is that p and t are fortis obstruents, b and d lenis obstruents (β, δ). The basis of the opposition is whether the articulation is tense or lax.

The sounds g (= G), z and ʒ are not phonemes, but only the combinatorial variants of the phonemes k, s, and c, after nasals.

Consonants (especially the fortis stops and nasals) tend to be geminated intervocally. Consonantal length is not phonemically distinctive, however.

In most of the Nenets dialects, vowels cannot occur initially in syllables; therefore, a word cannot begin with a vowel.

Because of this, a secondary initial ŋ or ń has developed in words which originally began with a vowel (cf. ŋōće, ŋōwće < Russian ovtsa).

The glottal stop (ʔ) in Nenets has phonemic value (ńā 'friend, companion' - ńāʔ 'mouth,' hāl'e 'fish (sg.)' - hāl'eʔ 'fish (pl.).')

The Nenets consonant system is as follows:

I. -Consonants with a plosive-type closure²

	before back <u>vowels</u>	before front <u>vowels</u>
1. Fortis obstruents	<u>p</u>	<u>p̣</u>
	<u>t</u>	<u>ṭ</u>
	(k)	-
	(ʔ)	-
2. Lenis obstruents	(b)	(ḅ)
	(d)	(ḍ)
	[G]	-
3. Affricates	(c)	(c̣)
	[ʒ]	[ʒ̣]
4. Nasals	<u>m</u>	<u>ṃ</u>
	<u>n</u>	<u>ń</u>
	<u>ŋ</u>	-
II. Spirants	<u>w</u>	<u>j</u>
	<u>s</u>	<u>ś</u>
	[<u>z</u>]	[<u>ẓ</u>]
	<u>h</u>	-

	before back <u>vowels</u>	before front <u>vowels</u>
III. Liquids		
1. Laterals	<u>l</u>	<u>l'</u>
2. Trills	<u>r</u>	<u>f</u>

In accordance with what we have said above, the vowels exist in pairs, every front vowel having its back counterpart. Thus the following vowels occur:

<u>back</u>	<u>front</u>
a	ä
o ε	ö e
u y	ü i

However, if we consider the vowels, with respect to their place of articulation, as dependent on the preceding consonant, then the Nenets vowel system can also be presented as follows:

A
Ö E
U I

where A = both a and ä, etc.

A contrast between short and long vowels can be observed in the case of A, U, and I, (for example, wāda 'word' - wada 'hook'), but the quantitative differences of Ö and E can be ignored. Long vowels occur most frequently in the first syllable, and word-finally in verbal forms. The final vowels of nominal stems are usually reduced.

The Nenets vowel system is supplemented by a diphthong, the velar, very short äε phoneme, which in certain dialects has coalesced with ε (=E₂).

In Nenets, there are phenomena reminiscent of vowel harmony. A recently developed result of suffixation is, for instance, a second form of the third person possessive suffix (-da, -ta) with front vowels (-de, -te) in certain dialects. The complete assimilation of a vowel following h to the vowel preceding it with respect to opening and vowel type may be regarded as an old trait (e.g., ɣuda 'hand': loc. ɣuda-hana; tū 'fire': abl. tū-hud; jī 'brain': loc. jihina or jihine).

There is a direct correlation between stress and vowel length. Long vowels are always stressed. If there is more than one long vowel in a word, the stress is evenly distributed on the long vowels.

10.1.3. There is no significant difference between Nenets verb and noun stems.

Stems of words ending in a vowel or in a consonant are usually unchanged.

The stems of words ending in a glottal stop have a form with a nasal (mū? 'voice': mūn-; wŷ? 'tundra': wŷp-), an s (tō? 'sable': tōs-) or a d (ma? 'tent': mad-).

A w appears in the stems of words ending in m? (jam? 'sea': jaw-).

Aside from the conditions given in derived and inflected forms, other consonantal and vocalic alternations can also be observed in word stems.

Consonantal alternations

<u>h</u> ~ <u>ś</u>	<u>noho</u>	'artic fox'	: Pl. gen.	<u>nośi</u> ?
<u>m</u> ~ <u>w</u>	<u>hæm</u>	'short'	: demin.	<u>hæwić</u>
<u>β</u> ~ <u>w</u>	<u>tiβe</u>	'tooth'	: Pl. gen.	<u>tiw</u> ?
<u>m</u> ~ <u>m̃</u>	<u>hañimś</u>	'to be cold'	: Sg. 3rd.	<u>hañime</u>
<u>k</u> ~ <u>ć</u>	<u>tupka</u>	'ax'	: Pl. gen.	<u>tupci</u> ?

Vocalic alternations

<u>a</u> ~ <u>o</u>	<u>jā</u>	'earth'	: Pl. acc.	<u>jō</u>
<u>o</u> ~ <u>u</u>	<u>ṇano</u>	'boat'	: Pl. acc.	<u>ṇanu</u>
<u>y</u> ~ <u>ε</u>	<u>tȳ</u>	'reindeer'	: Sg. dat.	<u>tēn</u>
<u>a</u> ~ <u>y</u>	<u>webarka</u>	'arctic dolphin'	: Pl. acc.	<u>webarky</u>
<u>a</u> ~ <u>e</u>	<u>hāsawa</u>	'man'	Pl. gen.	<u>hāśew?</u>

10.1.4. In Nenets there are four types of nominal inflection. A substantive can have an absolute inflection, possessive inflection with personal suffixes, predestinative inflection with personal suffixes, and predicative inflection.

Absolute inflection. There are seven cases: nominative (no suffix), genitive (-?) accusative (-m), dative-lative (-n), locative (h8na, -kana), ablative (-h8d, -kad), and prosecutive-prolative (-mna, -wna). A substantive can be inflected in the singular, the dual (-h + 8, -ka) and the plural (-?).

Besides inflected forms, there are many postpositions for marking more precise adverbial relations.

Possessive inflection. The possessor is not expressed by means of personal pronouns, but by person suffixes attached to the substantives (singular: 1st. -m̄i, -w, 2nd. -r, -l, 3rd. -da, -ta; dual: 1st. -m̄i?, 2nd. -fi?, -ī?, 3rd. -di?; plural: 1st. -wa?, 2nd. -ra?, -la?, 3rd. -do?, -to?). Besides the person and number of the possessor, it is also possible to mark the number of the possession--singular, dual, plural. Thus, the number of possessive person suffixes in the nominative is twenty-seven. Possessive person suffixes can occur with all the cases, however, so that the total number of possible forms is one hundred and eighty-nine. The possessive person suffixes usually follow the case suffixes. Exceptions are the following forms marking dual possession: singular, dual and plural locative, ablative and prosecutive-prolative, where the regular

order is as follows: stem + possession dual suffix (-hǝjǝ-) + possessive person suffix + case suffix (secondarily developed from postpositions).

In Nenets, forms with personal possessive suffixes (especially third singular) have not only the function of indicating the possessor, but they also have a quite widely used determinative function as well. Therefore, these forms are quite often used in a function corresponding to that of the definite articles of Indo-European languages. Thus, the meaning of hāleda is not only 'his fish,' but also 'the fish,' depending on the context.

Predestinative inflection. The most important characteristic of this inflection is that it marks the substantive with the relation of the subject of the verb to the possessor, that is, the person and number of the direct and indirect object of the verb: it marks the person for whom something is intended, who has possessed or will possess something. In this way, the form with the predestinative personal suffix determines in advance whose possession, whether already possessed or to be possessed, the complement of the verb is, to whom it is assigned, for whom it is reserved. For instance in the following sentence: hardamda təmtam, the second word is the predicate, which means 'I bought'; the first word, with double underlining, is the third person, accusative, predestinative form of the word har 'knife,' which is to be translated: 'the-knife-[acc.]-for-him.' Thus, the meaning of the whole sentence is 'I bought the knife [-acc.] for him,' in contrast with the form harm təmtam 'I bought a knife,' which does not contain any information with regard to whose possession the knife is. The predestinative inflection has three cases, nominative, accusative, and dative. The word-stem is first determined by the third singular possessive person suffix (har-da 'the knife'), the case suffix is attached to this form (nominative: \emptyset , accusative: -m, dative: -n, in our case har-da-m-), and finally the possessive person suffix, marking the number and the person to whom the direct or indirect object of the predicate was intended (in this case it referred to a third person, therefore: har-da-m-da 'the knife [-acc.] for him').

The following examples illustrate the use of the different case forms of the predestinative inflection:

Nominative:

Sg. 1st.	<u>ḡanodarni</u> <u>tō</u>	'the boat came for me (to me)'
2nd.	<u>ḡanodar</u> <u>tō</u>	'the boat came for you (to you)'
3rd.	<u>ḡanodada</u> <u>tō</u>	'the boat came for him/her (to him/her)'
		<: <u>ḡano</u> 'boat'

Accusative:

Sg. 1st.	<u>hardarni</u>	<u>temtam</u>	'I bought the knife for myself'
2nd.	<u>hardamt</u>	<u>temtam</u>	'I bought the knife for you'
3rd.	<u>hardamda</u>	<u>temtam</u>	'I bought the knife for him/her'
			<: <u>har</u> 'knife'

Dative:

Sg. 1st.	<u>puhućadan</u>	<u>tū?</u>	'come (to me) as my wife' (become my wife!)
2nd.	<u>puhućadant</u>	<u>tūm</u>	'I went (to you) as your wife' (I became your wife)
3rd.	<u>puhućadanta</u>	<u>tūm</u>	'I went (to him) as his wife' (I became his wife)
			<: <u>puhuća</u> 'wife'

Predicative inflection. The substantive can also be the predicate of the sentence, and in this function it can take verbal person suffixes. Thus a substantive can be verbalized with the verbal person suffixes, for example the word hāsawa 'man':

Sg. 1st.	<u>mań</u>	<u>hāsawa-dm</u>	'I am a man'
2nd.	<u>pydar</u>	<u>hāsawa-n</u>	'you are a man'
3rd.	<u>pyda</u>	<u>hāsawa</u>	'he is a man'

These forms can be changed into the past tense by adding the past tense suffix -ś.

Sg. 1st. <u>mań</u>	<u>sawo-dam-ś</u>	'I was good'
2nd. <u>pydar</u>	<u>sawo-na-ś</u>	'you were good'
3rd. <u>pyda</u>	<u>sawo-ś</u>	'he/she was good'
		<: <u>sawo</u> 'good'

10.1.5. Verbs can have subjective, objective and reflexive conjugations. The person suffixes of the subjective verbal conjugation are the same as the person suffixes which occur with predicative nominal inflection (singular: 1st. -dm, 2nd. -n, 3rd. -ø; dual: 1st. -ńi?, 2nd. -đi?, 3rd. -h8?; plural: 1st. -wa?, 2nd. -da?, 3rd. -?). The suffixes of the objective verbal conjugation are different, in that they mark the number (singular, dual, plural) of the object of the verb as well as the actor, and in that they correspond to the possessive person suffixes (here, too, the duality of the object is marked by the -hajü- suffix, and plurality by the -j- suffix). In the reflexive conjugation a different set of person suffixes are used (the marker of the conjugation: j + singular: 1st. -w?, 2nd. -n, 3rd. -?; dual: 1st. -ńi?, 2nd. -đi?, 3rd. -h8?; plural: 1st. -na?, 2nd. -da?, 3rd. -d?).

The marking of the tenses is greatly dependent on the aspect of the action or event expressed by the verb. The verbs madā 'to cut,' təmta 'to buy,' and hā 'to die' express momentaneous action, and therefore the forms without tense markers and with or without person suffixes have the value of past tense: təmtam 'I bought,' hā 'he died.' On the other hand, the verbs jīlē 'to live,' nū 'to stand' are of continuous, durative quality, and therefore their forms without tense markers express present tense: jīlēm 'I live,' nū 'he stands' etc.

There are forms with tense markers as against verbal forms without tense markers (aorist). The past tense of durative verbs is formed by the past tense marker -ś: jīlēś 'he lived.' The verbal noun suffix -wȳ, -mȳ, is also often used to express past tense. The present tense of the momentaneous verbs are formed by adding the frequentative-durative suffix to the stem: mada-śetyw 'I cut (objective),' mada-bi 'he cuts,' tū-r̥ṇa-m 'I come.'

The future tense is usually expressed by adding the -ŋku, or -da, -ta suffixes to the stem: mansara-ŋku-? 'they will work.'

There are several moods: besides the indicative (unmarked), many verbal moods can be formed with additional mood markers. The conjunctive (marker -ji-) mood has the value of stimulation, request. The imperative (marked by -?, or -hŋ-, -ka-) expresses a stronger request, command. The potential mood (marker -ky-) expresses potentiality, possibility. The obligative indicates the necessity of executing some obligation (marker -bcu-). An auditive suffix is added to the stem (-wono-, -mono-) if the action expressed by the verb was only heard. The optative (-rawa-, -lawa-) implies desire, wishing, and the precative (-hŋr-, -kar-) expresses a request, and also, to a certain degree, polite encouragement. There is a special mood to express questions, but this always has the value of a past tense (interrogative mood, marker -s).

The verbs have many nominal forms, the infinitive (-ś, -ċ, sometimes functioning as a gerund), the infinitive functioning as an adverb of purpose (-wanś), the conditional gerund (-bna-), the gerund of time (-b?); nomen actionis (-wa, -ma), nomen agentis (-da, -ta), present participle (-na, -da), past participle (-wŷ, -mŷ), future participle (-wanda, -mānda).

The verb is negated by a negative verb, and not by a negative particle. The most common negative verb is ńiś 'not to be.' In negative constructions where this verb is used for negation, this negative verb takes the person suffixes, and the main verb occurs in its stem form (ńīdm harwa? 'I do not want, I do not wish,' ńīn harwa? 'you do not want, you do not wish' etc.). Besides this verb, there are several other negative verbs, with special meanings: jaŋkō-ś 'not to have, to lack' jeherā 'not to know,' jarmē-ś 'not to be familiar with,' jā?mā-ś 'not to be able' etc.

10.1.6. In Nenets sentence structure, as a general rule, the subject is usually at the beginning of the sentence (even though it is not always the first word in the sentence), and in any case it precedes the predicate, which usually stands at the end of the sentence. The attribute precedes the head, and the complement usually stands between the subject and the predicate,

although sometimes it may precede the subject or follow the predicate.

There is concord to the extent that the predicate agrees with the subject in person and number (but after numerals and paired body parts the predicate is in the singular), and in the objective conjugation the verb form also agrees with the object in number. The attribute is not in agreement with the head.

An interesting characteristic of the Nenets language is the lack of conjunctions as a word class, or rather, that they have begun to develop only in recent decades. There has been no use for conjunctions, because there are no subordinate clauses in Nenets (however, some coordinate clauses do occur, but usually without conjunctions). Subordinate clauses are condensed into a simple sentence with several complements, with the help of gerundial constructions.

The following examples, for instance, should be translated by temporal subordinate clauses:

jíříwa? hāmāda pohona ńúdeko
our-grandfather his-dying in-its-year young(er)

ńúnd śan poda ńāesa
your-son's how many his-years was there?

'how old was your younger son when our grandfather died?'

ńakanta tāewmahadanta hāewtyta jāsōko
to-his-tent from-his-arriving the rib pieces-acc.

ńāńi? ńata śíđińā? mojoida
again his-tent to-its-two-sides he-kept-throwing-them.

'after he arrived home, he threw the ribs to both sides of the tent'

The following example compresses a conditional subordinate clause into one simple sentence:

tūkowna tohōwābat (condit. gerund) lytə
to-here if-you-coming your-bones

marnāha? ńēbat hōnuḡku?
their-rattling-acc. indeed-not you-hear-it.

'if you come here, you will not hear the rattling of your bones'

The next example is to be translated using an adjectival subordinate clause:

hānawntārni jabtōrni ńfta poḡkana
brought-by-me my-duck his(its)-companions among
tíkāna ḡāḡḡkū
there it-is.

'the duck which I brought is there, among its companions'

The next example conceals a subject subordinate clause:

jālem padū ḡylād ńahar sərem
the sun its-set from-under three white-acc.(i.e. reindeer)
meta ḡadimē
possessing he appeared.

'from the direction of the sunset, the one who has three white reindeer became visible'

10.2. Castrén mentions two dialects of Enets, the Khantaysk and the Baykha. The former can be identified with the dialect of the Maddu tribe, the latter with the dialect of the Bay tribe. It also has to be taken into account that the Moggáđi speak a different dialect, but this dialect undoubtedly is closer to that of the Bay.

The relation of the Bay and Maddu dialects to each other is illustrated by the following examples:

<u>Maddu</u>		<u>Bay</u>		
<u>ǫ</u>	: <u>naǫa</u>	<u>r</u>	: <u>nara</u>	'crust on snow'
<u>r</u>	: <u>nara</u>	<u>d</u>	: <u>nada</u>	'marsh, bog'
<u>b</u>	: <u>jūbe</u>	<u>f</u>	: <u>jūfe</u>	'pen, fold'
<u>đ</u>	: <u>tidō</u>	<u>s</u>	: <u>tiso</u>	'clan'
<u>φ</u>	: <u>ēsā</u>	<u>n</u>	: <u>nēsā</u>	'nine'
<u>ū</u>	: <u>kū</u>	<u>ō</u>	: <u>kō</u>	'ear'
<u>oa</u>	: <u>koa-</u>	<u>ua</u>	: <u>kua-</u>	'to find'

Of the morphological differences it is worth mentioning that the first person possessive suffix is -bo in the Maddu dialect, and -jʔ in the Bay dialect. In the subjective conjugation the first person suffix is -roʔ in the Maddu dialect, and -doʔ in the Bay.

The Enets language hardly differs from Nenets (perhaps it is closest to Forest Nenets). The most significant difference in the phonology is the lack of affricates in Enets. On the other hand, it seems that an opposition between voiced and voiceless stops has developed. Also, two or three soundshifts unknown in Nenets have developed in some dialects (p > f, φ; r > ǫ; s > θ.)

What was previously said about the Nenets language system holds true by and large for this language too (however, in this language the accusative is not marked, nor is the genitive for the most part). Of course, there are some differences in the phonemic shapes of the morphological forms, but these differences are not significant enough to obscure their connection

with each other. For example:

	<u>Nenets</u>	<u>Enets (Bay)</u>
Loc. suffix	- <u>hōna</u> , - <u>kana</u>	- <u>hōne</u> , - <u>gone</u>
Abl. suffix	- <u>hōd</u> , - <u>kat</u>	- <u>hōdo</u> , - <u>godo</u>
Pros. suffix	- <u>wna</u> , - <u>mna</u>	- <u>one</u> , - <u>mone</u>
Poss. sfx. 2nd. sing.	- <u>r</u> , - <u>l</u>	- <u>ro</u> , - <u>lo</u>
Poss. sfx. 3rd. sing.	- <u>da</u> , - <u>ta</u>	- <u>da</u> etc.

10.3. We also have only an imperfect knowledge of the language of the Nganasan. Within the relationship system of the northern Samoyed languages this language is the farthest removed from Nenets. Enets is, so to say, the connecting link between Nenets and Nganasan.

It is very difficult to give a survey of the differences between the two dialects of the Nganasan: the Vadeyev (aśa) and the Avam (ñā), since about the aśa dialect we do not know even as much as we know about the scantily studied ñā.

The Nganasan phoneme system is closer to that of Enets than to Nenets; in fact, it is almost identical with that of the Enets. There are one or two differences in the consonant system (e.g., Enets h ~ Nganasan k).

Paradigmatic gradation is characteristic of the Nganasan Samoyed, a phenomenon which is lacking in the other Northern Samoyed languages. For example:

<u>moku</u>	'back'	sing. gen.	<u>moguŋ</u>
<u>ñafe</u>	'fur'	sing. gen.	<u>ñabenŋ</u>
<u>tuta</u>	'ski'	sing. gen.	<u>tudaŋ</u> etc.

This phenomenon is an independent Nganasan linguistic development, and is undoubtedly connected with the characteristic prosodic peculiarities of Nganasan. Nganasan belongs to the so called mora (mora counting) languages, (unlike Nenets and Enets), where the smallest prosodic unit does not always coincide with the syllable. Thus stress does not depend on the

syllable, but on the mora-structure of the syllable. Stress usually falls on the next to the last mora of the word. However, in inflected, derived, and compound (polysyllabic words) forms not only the next to the last mora is stressed, but the original stress of the one or two syllable stem or basic word is also preserved.

It is because of this prosodic peculiarity that Nganasan stems constitute a type different from the verbal and nominal stems in Nenets and Enets.

Nganasan grammatical structure is otherwise almost identical with that of both Nenets and Enets, and the only differences can be observed in the phonological shapes of suffixes and derivative morphemes.

In certain situations the Nganasan communicate with each other in a "secret" language. This language, the so-called kajjalawa, is nothing but the application of the allegorical language of songs to everyday speech. Young people use this language when joking or courting, but it is also often used by the old. In the kajjalawa speech it is customary to call people 'reindeer,' furthermore the persons in question are called by appropriate technical terms, referring to the age, sex, and other characteristics of the reindeer. Often, the person in question is named with humorous circumscription. For instance, elderly men are often denoted by the expression torkatō jīda ena 'flattened old-man nose.'³

10.4.1. The contemporary Sel'kup language is divided into three dialect groups: Taz (north-western), Tym, and Ket (southern). These dialect groups are further subdivided into small dialects.

Common dialect features emerge only in those areas where the Sel'kup live in relatively large units. Among those Sel'kup who have lived in scattered groups, practically every yurt used to have its own dialect. This circumstance led to the disappearance of these dialect islands, for when dialect differences among small Sel'kup settlements had become so great that even inhabitants of relatively close geographic areas could no longer understand each other, the unity and cohesive force of the language were lost. Such a development took place in certain Sel'kup settlements (especially along the Ob') as early as the turn of the

century. In such cases members of a society which originally had spoken the same language began to communicate by means of a mediating language, generally Russian (Ostyak in certain areas), and this situation resulted in the eventual extinction of the mother tongue. This is the reason why today only half of the Sel'kup speak their mother tongue.

There is still a relatively compact Sel'kup population living in the Tym, Ket, and Taz dialect areas (especially in the Taz area); thus, these dialects are still extant. The Taz dialect has the greatest number of speakers, and for this reason the language used in elementary arithmetic books and readers published for Sel'kup children is based on the Taz dialect.

The following examples illustrate the differences among the three major Sel'kup dialects:

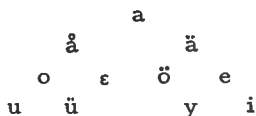
<u>Tym</u>	<u>Ket</u>	<u>Taz</u>	
<u>qup</u>	<u>qum</u>	<u>qup~qum</u>	'man'
<u>qorsat</u>	<u>qorsan</u>	<u>qorsat~qorsan</u>	'body'
<u>āk</u>	<u>āŋ</u>	<u>āk~āŋ</u>	'mouth'
<u>laga</u>	<u>lā</u>	<u>laŋa</u>	'leuciscus idus'
<u>andy</u>	<u>andy</u>	<u>anDy, anty</u>	'boat'
<u>qwezy</u>	<u>qwez</u>	<u>qesy</u>	'iron'
<u>čwēcči</u>	<u>čwēcči</u>	<u>tetty</u>	'earth'
<u>ńewa</u>	<u>ńewa</u>	<u>ńoma</u>	'rabbit'
<u>čam₃e</u>	<u>čam₃e</u>	<u>tāmtā</u>	'frog'
<u>čely</u>	<u>ťely</u>	<u>čely</u>	'he receives, gets'
<u>peptāl</u>	<u>peptej</u>	<u>peptāl</u>	'chin'
<u>šīpa</u>	<u>sīpa</u>	<u>šīpa</u>	'duck'

There are not only phonological differences among the dialects. There are considerable differences in vocabulary, and also in elements of grammatical structure. For instance:

	<u>Tym</u>	<u>Ket</u>	<u>Taz</u>
'egg'	<u>ńaby</u>	<u>ńaby</u>	<u>eŋ</u>
'sled'	<u>qan₃i</u>	<u>qan₃i</u>	<u>ũssamy</u>
'nose'	<u>pučče</u>	<u>putte</u>	<u>yndäí</u>
'small'	<u>kypa</u>	<u>ũčče</u>	<u>kypa</u>
'shaman drum'	<u>nua</u>	<u>pyŋgyr</u>	<u>nupa</u>

Both in the Ket and the Tym dialects the plural suffix is -la (e.g., qula < qup, qum 'man'), in the Taz dialect, however, the plural suffix is -t with animate nouns (qumyt), and -í + my with inanimate nouns (mátylmy 'tents': mât). The translative suffix is -wlā in the Ket dialect, but -qo in Taz and Tym, etc.

10.4.2. Of the Samoyed languages, Sel'kup no doubt has the richest, most diversified phonology. The vowel system of the Taz dialect consists of 11 phonemes:



Quantitative contrast of vowels often differentiates lexical items (e.g., pūty 'inner part,' puty 'beaver fur'). Contrast between voiced and voiceless stops is characteristic of the consonantal system. There are two k phonemes (k and the velar q), and a few affricates have also developed in the language (č and ʒ, ʒ̥). Long consonants also exist in certain dialects.

Sel'kup is the other Samoyed language in which paradigmatic gradation can be found, but the Taz dialect, for instance, lacks this phenomenon.

Stress usually falls on initial syllables.

10.4.3. There is no significant difference between verb and noun stems in Sel'kup. Many stem-changing words can be found and stem-final vowel alternation is quite frequent.

In Sel'kup, as opposed to the northern Samoyed languages, only absolute case inflection and possessive person inflection exist.⁴

The number of case suffixes is slightly higher than in Nenets: there are nine of them. (nom: \emptyset ; gen: $-n\sim-t$; acc: $-m\sim-p$; dat: $-nyk\sim-nyn$, $-nty$, $-ty$; loc: $-(my)qyt\sim-(my)qyn$; abl.: $-n\ddot{a}n(y)$, $-qyny$; prosec.: $-myt\sim-myn$; instr.: $-s\ddot{a}$; lat. transl.: $-qo$, $-wl\ddot{a}$). The reason for the variety of suffixes in the dative, locative, and ablative is that different suffixes are added to animate nouns than to inanimate nouns. The case suffixes only partly agree with the case suffixes of the northern Samoyed languages.

Historically the possessive person suffixes are identical with those of the northern Samoyed languages (singular: 1st. $-m\sim-p$, 2nd. $-l(y)$, 3rd. $-t(y)$, $-d(y)$; dual: 1st. $-mij$, 2nd. $-lij$, 3rd. $-tij$; plural: 1st. $-myt$, 2nd. $-lyt$, 3rd. $-tyt$). Plurality or duality of possession is expressed by $-i$ (plural) and by $-qy$ (dual) suffixes, preceding the possessive person suffixes. The possessive person suffix usually follows the case suffix; but the possessive forms of the locative, ablative, instrumental and translocative cases are formed by adding these suffixes to the singular genitive form of the word (these suffixes in the absolute inflection too are added to the genitive form of animate nouns).

Person suffixes of the objective verbal conjugation are the same as the possessive person suffix (except the dual 1st.: $-ej$). In the subjective conjugation the third person is unmarked in the singular, and in the dual only the dual marker $-qy$ is present. The first, and second person dual suffixes, and the first, second and third person plural suffixes of the subjective conjugation coincide with the person suffixes of the objective conjugation, and therefore the subjective verbal person suffixes differ from the objective verbal suffixes only in the singular (1st. $-k$, 2nd. $-nty$, 3rd. \emptyset) and dual third person ($-qy$). In many places there is no distinction between subjective and objective conjugation.

In Sel'kup, as in Nenets, the aorist does not have a definite time value, or rather, it depends on the quality of the action expressed by the verb: mat ila-k 'I live' (durative = present), but mat mega-k 'I did/made (it)' (momentaneous = past).

The sign of the past tense (preterite) is s.

There are five verbal moods: indicative, imperative, auditive, narrative (this has a special present, past and future tense) and conditional.

There is a considerable number of verbal nouns.

Syntactic constructions show great similarity to those of Nenets. In Sel'kup, too, subordinate clauses are usually condensed into a simple sentence. For example:

<u>te</u>	<u>megnynynt</u>	<u>tūlā</u>	<u>pulā</u>	<u>mačonty</u>
you-pl.	to-us	your-coming	after	into-the-forest

qellymyt
we(-will-)go . .

'we (will) go to the forest after you have come to us'

10.5. There is a greater difference between Kamas and Sel'kup phonology, grammatical structure and vocabulary than between individual northern Samoyed languages. This stems from the fact that the connection between these two members of the southern group broke off a very long time ago. Apart from that, the Kamas language was exposed to foreign influence to such an extent that it led to its extinction.

In any case, the six case suffixes of the absolute inflection (accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, and instrumental) are connected with the corresponding Sel'kup (and partly northern Samoyed) suffixes. The dual is hardly ever used in the case inflection, and besides the ancient plural suffix (-i), new, Altai Turkic, among others, plural suffixes (e.g. -lar) also appear.

The possessive inflection, compared to those of the other Samoyed languages, is not complete (several case forms with a possessive person suffix fell together, e.g., the locative and the dative; the genitive, accusative and the nominative; duality of the possession is not marked). The possessive person suffixes, however, are the same etymologically as the possessive suffixes in the other Samoyed languages.

The distinction between objective and subjective conjugations exists mainly in the third person singular, dual and plural, and in the imperative. Otherwise, both kinds of conjugation have

the same person suffixes. Although the dual exists in verb conjugation, it is very seldom used.

There are three tenses in Kamas: present, past, and future; and there are four moods: predicative, imperative, conditional and stimulative. Verbal nouns are numerous.

10.6. Certain attempts were made during czarist times to produce a written form of the Samoyed languages, but these attempts, made by the Eastern Orthodox Church with missionary aims (we are thinking of the work of archimandrit Venyamin Yu. M. Sibirtsey, N. P. Grigorovskiy, and Makariy, the metropolitan of Moscow⁵) bore no fruit, and a written Samoyed language was not produced. The formation of the Samoyed literary languages and the creation of their literature must be credited to the Soviet government. The task was performed by experts, with the aid and leadership of the Institute for Northern Peoples. The first product of Samoyed literature (in 1932) was G. N. Prokof'ev's Jadej wada ('New Word') and E. Prokof'eva's Narqywetty ('Red Road'), which were primers in the Nenets and Sel'kup languages, respectively. Since then several books have appeared in the Nenets language (school books: primers, grammars, arithmetic books; moreover, smaller works for entertainment, and other educational works). The Bol'shezemel'sk (Tundra) Nenets dialect was made the basis of the literary Nenets language, and the Taz dialect the basis of the Sel'kup literary language because these are the most centrally located and comparatively the most common, and, moreover, because these were the least exposed to foreign influences, thus constituting a medium among the other dialects.

In forming literary languages it was necessary to develop the dialects which were taken as the basis for the standard language. The main aim of the language reform was to expand vocabulary, since many new concepts of civilization and culture had to be expressed in these undeveloped languages. There were two ways to express newly acquired concepts: either to borrow the corresponding Russian terms (e.g., alfawit, partel, lew, slon, zawod, doklad, bukwa, etc.), or to form new compounds derived from Samoyed word roots. For instance, in Nenets, "reading room" is expressed by the verb tolanko 'to read' with -law, a derivational suffix, attached to it =

tolap̄kulawa; "hospital" = sawumdaṅkalawa ('the place where they cure' < sawa 'good,' sawumdaṅko 'to cure, to repair'); "doctor" = sawumdaṅkoda (lit. 'the curer, one who cures'); "school book" = toholkobć? (< toholko 'to learn, to study'); "airplane" = tirta ṇano (lit. 'flying boat'); "thought" = ji' ṇu? (lit. 'mind-track, mind-way') etc. There are similar expressions in Sel'kup also, for instance: "book" = togylytysātyl my (lit. 'something to be read, a thing for reading'); "airplane" = timpytyl andy (lit. 'flying boat'); "pencil" = nekyntypsā po (lit. 'wood suitable for writing, writing-wood'); "teacher" = tantaltykyp̄tāl qup (lit. 'a man teaching children'); "toothbrush" = timyp musylytysātyl my (lit. 'a thing for washing teeth') etc. However, many of these words were not viable, and later were replaced by the corresponding Russian words. Thus, in more recent Nenets publications we find kniga instead of toholkobć?, and aeroplan in place of tirta ṇano, etc.

Notes

1. The glottal stop (?) also lacks a palatalized counterpart, but this phoneme cannot occur syllable initially. The palatalized counterpart of w is j (~ Forest w).

2. The phones in parentheses usually do not occur initially. Phones in square brackets are combinatorial variants of consonants.

3. As an example, we will quote in translation a Kajpalawa conversation (sung) between two Nganasan. The conversation is full of images, and it is meaningless to a stranger.

Fadopte: "It seems as if the Taymyr River had flooded. The wood-shavings on the shore swam away! How should we fish out these wooden pieces? If we set up a fish net, would these small sticks get caught in it? I am saying words which you know! Perhaps I myself am all mixed up, but you do know that word!"

Bidine: "Oh, perhaps there is someone who saw that the bank of the Taymyr was flooded? I checked every place here, and I saw fords everywhere! Oh, but it also might be that way! It is possible that the water had flooded. But I, being old, probably did not notice it. My sled has eight feet! These feet are hanging loosely from the joint! Because of this, it is possible that they do not find anything."

During the conversation Fadapte is actually speaking about the fact that he had a son who is called Small Wood-Shavings (Little Stick), but Bidine had not yet seen the baby, and he refers to this by saying that he had not seen the flood. Bidine has no children, he is a bachelor. When he is speaking about the eight feet (i.e. ribs) of the sled, he is referring to the fact that he has become old, it is already too late to get married, and he would not be able to find a suitable girl any more.

4. At times there are also traces of the predicative inflection, although these are isolated.

5. As a result of their activities, the missionary society of Kazan issued, between 1895 and 1897, primers, biblical stories, and prayers.

11. RESEARCH ON THE SAMOYED LANGUAGES

11. Scientific investigation of the Samoyedic languages began comparatively late, in the middle of the last century, approximately at the same time as the expansion of Finno-Ugric linguistics. Castrén's work has generally been considered the beginning of research on Samoyed, but naturally there were travel descriptions of the Samoyeds even before his time. Glossaries and linguistic descriptions had also appeared, but none of these is of great significance.

The first handwritten Samoyed glossary (containing sixteen words) is to be found among the notes of the English merchant and traveler, Richard James (1618-1620). More material is contained in the glossary of another English traveler, Peter Mundy (1641, fifty-seven words). In addition to these notes, Samoyed glossaries are contained in the works of Nicholas Witsen, mayor of Amsterdam (1705), and of Philipp Johann Strahlenberg, Swedish military officer (1730), and in the diary of D. G. Messerschmidt (1721-1723). The first comparative glossaries are those of Strahlenberg and August Ludwig Schlözer (1771), though the latter did not collect his own material but used data from Johann Eberhard Fischer's handwritten Siberian dictionary. A great deal of valuable Samoyed data is contained in the polyglot dictionary, Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa (1786-1789), prepared by P. S. Pallas for Empress Catherine. Word lists of various lengths and comparative tabulations can also be found in the travel description of P. S. Pallas (1776), and in the works of F. Klaproth (1823), Johann Friedrich Erdmann (1826), Alexander Gustav Schrenk (1854), Edward Rae (1875 and 1887), A. F. Plotnikov (1901), A. A. Dunin-Gorkavich (1910) and B. N. Zhitkov (1913), etc. The Koybal and Motor word list of 1806 by G. Spasskiy is still our only source for these two languages, which at this time were still Samoyed.

Data concerning the life and history of the Samoyeds are to be found in considerable quantity in the old literature, mainly in the works of Strahlenberg, Pallas, Schlözer and Fischer. In particular, Pallas' ethnographic descriptions and Fischer's observations concerning the history of Siberia deserve attention even today.

All this, however, was only the beginning of the beginning. Up to this point no attempt had been made to describe the languages of the Samoyeds. The first such attempt is ascribed to J. S. Vater, a university professor at Königsberg, who published a Samoyed grammar entitled Bruchstücke einer samojedischen Grammatik in 1811. The material used as the basis for this work did not come from on-the-spot research but from a Samoyed text issued by the Russian Academy of Sciences, along with a Russian translation, in 1787. In addition to its "fragmentary" nature, the work also suffers from the fact that the transliteration of the Samoyed text from Cyrillic is not at all reliable.

The second Samoyed grammar, chronologically, was written by the archimandrit Venyamin, who worked among the Samoyeds as a missionary. He presented his work to the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1842, and at their request Sjögren examined it and corrected some of its errors. Unfortunately, however, this volume was not published.

Nine years later, in 1851, a work by H. C. von Gabelentz appeared in the journal Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft entitled "Über die samojedische Sprache," in which the author assembled all of the material that could be found for a discussion of the grammar.

The works mentioned so far were all of pioneer importance in the history of research into the Samoyed languages, but are no longer of use today. The grammatical, lexical, and textual materials necessary for Samoyed philology could only be supplied by fresh collecting. This was recognized by the Russian Academy of Sciences, and at their behest Castrén carried out researches among the Samoyeds themselves. Castrén (1813-1852), whom we may consider the creator of Samoyed linguistics, had made several trips among the Finno-Ugric peoples to collect material. He began to occupy himself with the Samoyed languages only

near the end of 1842, in the course of his third journey, which he had begun in 1841 in Lapland with Lönnrot, the collector of the Kalevala. In 1842 he traveled to the region of Arkhangelsk, and from there advanced by degrees as far as Berezov. At this period he was studying the Nenets language. He was compelled, however, to interrupt his field-work and return home. He had previously been quite ill, and in 1844 a physician at Berezov diagnosed a serious lung disease, which had stricken him in his deteriorated physical condition. This medical diagnosis discouraged Castrén for a time. The feeling that death would prevent him from finishing the work he had begun took a stronger and stronger hold on him. After resting for eight months in Finland (with his physical condition showing some improvement), he decided to resume his Samoyed journey. True to his decision, he covered, between 1845 and 1849, the Siberian regions from the tundra along the Arctic Sea to the Sayan Mountains, and he even had time to occupy himself with languages other than Samoyed. (He published Ostyak, Koybal, Karagas, Yenisey Ostyak, Kott, Buryat, and Tungus grammars and glossaries as a result of his journey.) Only a rapid deterioration in health forced him to return home in 1849. We can follow his activities in his "Reiseberichte" and his "Reiseerinnerungen," which not only make very interesting reading, but at the same time are very valuable from ethnographic geographical, historical and linguistic points of view. From these works we can see what superhuman will power and what self-sacrificing, heroic devotion to learning went into the preparation of the Samoyed grammar and dictionary. He had worked out a brief Samoyed grammar during his first Samoyed journey, but this was never published. Upon returning from his Siberian journey, he set to work immediately, so that his materials might become the common property of scholars as soon as possible. A Samoyed from Kanin, who happened to be in Finland, was a great help to him in this work.

Meanwhile, crowning his innumerable scientific honors, in 1851 he won the newly constituted chair of the Finnish language at Helsinki University. At this time, too, he married, and a child was born shortly thereafter. At this point, the pinnacle of his life, Castrén was again stricken by his lung ailment in 1852, and this time his exhausted body could not resist, and he ended

his earthly career after a few weeks of suffering. He was unable to complete the major fruit of his journey of several years—the Samoyed grammar. Not long after the great scholar's death, Castrén's family sent the manuscripts he left behind to the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and the academy's division of philology and history entrusted his good friend Anton Schiefner with their publication. The manuscripts thus entrusted to Schiefner appeared in twelve volumes, published between 1853 and 1862, under the title Nordische Reisen und Forschungen von M. A. Castrén.

The Grammatik der samojedischen Sprachen which is of interest to us appeared in 1854. The material for the book had been in large measure completed, with only the Nganasan and Enets, as well as the Sel'kup and Kamas phonology remaining to be worked out. Schiefner completed these sections. Also missing from the book are the chapters on the formation of verbs and on syntax. The vocabulary, Wörterverzeichnisse aus den samojedischen Sprachen, appeared in 1855, along with samples of text.

Castrén's life work is fundamental from the standpoint of later research. He was the first to collect reliable material on the Samoyed languages, to clarify the place of these languages in the Uralic language family, to describe their dialects, and to write the first Samoyed grammar and dictionary of scientific value. Without his material, not only Samoyedic but even Finno-Ugric research would be considerably less advanced.

Castrén was not the only scholar collecting Samoyed linguistic material at the middle and end of the last century. Antal Reguly returned from his journey of 1843-46 with Nenets notes, in addition to Vogul and Ostyak material. Károly Pápay's Siberian journey for ethnographic data also resulted in some material on Sel'kup words. József Budenz collected five stories and other shorter sentences in 1882 from the Kanin Nenets family of five members which was being exhibited in the zoo of Budapest as a spectacle at that time. The collections by Reguly, Pápay and Budenz, although useful for linguistic studies, undeniably do not even approach the value of Castrén's collections. The starting-point and the main source of Samoyed studies remain the works of Castrén.

Samoyedic researches were greatly aided by John Abercromby, later an honorary member of the Finno-Ugric Society, who made a considerable endowment to provide scholarships for journeys for Samoyedic study. In 1911 two Finnish scholars set out with the intention of studying the Samoyed languages. One of them, T. V. Lehtisalo, spent three years (1911, 1912, 1914) among the Samoyeds, studying the Nenets language. The results of his work include his major works on Nenets reindeer keeping, on the Nenets vowel system of the first syllable, on the Uralic vowel system of the first syllable, on Proto-Uralic derivation, and on Nenets mythology. Those working on the Samoyed language obtained a tremendous amount of new lexical material from these works. His collection of texts (1947), and his well-known Nenets dictionary (1956) constitute practically a treasure-house of the Nenets language. He recently published Castrén's Sel'kup word and text collections as well as Castrén's notes on Sel'kup grammar (1960), which in the Schiefner edition was published with arbitrary changes. In this volume, he also published his own Sel'kup notes and additional Nenets texts.

Kai Donner (1888-1935), the other scholar who was sent among the Samoyed, was there in 1911-1913 and 1914. He collected materials principally concerning the southern Samoyed languages (Sel'kup and Kamas). Extremely valuable, and largely the results of this journey, were his works on the initial labial spirants and stops of Samoyed and Proto-Uralic, on Samoyed-Turkish contacts, and on Samoyed folklore. Also of great value are two of his other books, one of which deals with Siberia, while the other contains the description of his Samoyed journey. Unfortunately, Donner died young, before he could complete his plans. Aulis J. Joki is publishing the manuscripts he left behind, and the first volume of these, his Kamas dictionary, appeared in 1944.

While these two Finnish linguists occupied themselves almost entirely with specific problems, G. N. Prokof'ev, a Russian, devoted himself almost entirely to writing Samoyed grammars. It was largely due to Prokof'ev's activities within the Institute for Northern Peoples in Leningrad that the Samoyed literary languages were created. He translated several books and pamphlets into Samoyed, and he wrote grammars of the Nenets,

Nganasan, Enets, and Sel'kup languages. Prokof'ev was a teacher among the Sel'kup people for three years.

Among those investigating Samoyed languages, pioneering work was done by the young Russian linguist, G. D. Verbov, who died in World War II. His most significant work, a Forest Nenets grammar, was left behind in manuscript. Valuable work has been done in Nenets linguistics and folklore by Anton Pyrerka, of Nenets origin. After his early death, his wife, N. M. Tereshchenko, has continued his work. She has written several Samoyed dictionaries, grammars, and linguistic articles.

Many Soviet ethnographers have conducted field work among the Samoyeds. A. A. Popov, B. O. Dolgikh, L. A. Faynberg, and E. D. Prokof'eva have published very valuable descriptions of the life of the Nganasan, Enets, and Sel'kup.

Besides those who carried on field work, there were a number of scholars engaged in writing up the material, in order to learn about the languages and to clarify their history. The work of Ignác Halász (a Lapp specialist) is of extraordinary merit in demonstrating the relationship of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed. In his work, published in 1893-94, he gave a comprehensive evaluation of the grammatical agreements of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed languages along with 245 cognates. His work is not only the first, thorough proof of the Samoyed-Finno-Ugric relationship, but it is also the first attempt at Uralic historical phonology. Halász's contemporary, Bernát Munkácsy also dealt with similar problems although not in such a comprehensive manner, and Halász's achievements and results surpass Munkácsy's in many respects. The work of Halász, combined with recent achievements in linguistic science, was continued two or three decades later by two Finnish scholars: E. N. Setälä, who summarized the proofs of Samoyed and Finno-Ugric relations, and H. Paasonen, who wrote a Uralic historical phonology from a more modern standpoint. Thus, the investigation of the Samoyed languages has received more and more attention in Finno-Ugric linguistics, and slowly has become a part of it. This fact is clearly shown by the works of other Finno-Ugric linguists besides those already mentioned: Y. Wichmann, Z. Gombocz, Y. H. Toivonen, D. V. Bubrikh, A. Sauvageot, B. Collinder, D. Fokos-Fuchs,

P. Ravila, W. Steinitz, E. Itkonen, K. Bergsland and B. Wickman. During the period between the two world wars, several scholars dealt with particular Samoyed problems. Although they did not have the opportunity to conduct field work, their work is important with respect to Samoyed studies. József Györke wrote the first monograph on Uralic (but mainly of Samoyed interest) derivational suffixes (1935), and actually it was he who revived interest in Samoyed studies in Hungary. At the same time, in connection with and as a result of her work with ancient history, Irén N.-Sebestyén began intensive work on Samoyed languages. She has increased our knowledge of the Samoyed languages by her exemplary editing of unpublished materials by A. J. Joki and K. Donner, and with valuable Samoyed etymologies.

At present, the cultivation of Samoyed linguistics has been extended in scope with respect to subject matter as well as to geography. Rapid development of studies and research has led to ever more urgent demands for collecting new material. With the exception of Soviet scholars, who are in a more favorable position, it has been more than half a century since linguistic field work has been conducted in Samoyed territory. The main aim and task of contemporary Samoyed scholars is to conduct field work and collect material in the lesser known Samoyed languages—Enets and Nganasan, as well as Sel'kup—besides the relatively well known Nenets, so that a solidly based description of the history of these languages and of their present systems might be given.

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12.1.2. Abbreviations

AEH	Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
ALH	Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AOH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AZAEMD	Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden.
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal. The Hague & Wiesbaden.
CILB	Vme Congrès Internationale des Linguistes. Bruges.
DSIY	Doklady i Soobshcheniya Instituta Yazykoznaniya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moscow.
E	Etnografiya. Moscow-Leningrad.
EK	Eesti Keel. Tartu.
FFC	Folklore Fellows Communications. Helsinki.
FUF	Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.
IANOL	Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdeleniye Literatury i Yazyka. Moscow-Leningrad.
IHUHT	Instituti Hungarici Universitatis Holmiensis, Thesis. Stockholm.
ILGU	Izvestiya Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Leningrad.
IRGO	Izvestiya Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva.
IVGO	Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva. Moscow-Leningrad.
JAF	Journal of American Folklore.

- JAIGB Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.
- JSFOu Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
- KSIE Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Etnografii Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moscow-Leningrad.
- KSVK Kalevalaseuran Vuosikirja. Helsinki.
- MAGW Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vienna.
- MGGW Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft. Vienna.
- MNTK Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai. Budapest.
- MNt Magyar Nyelvészet. Pest.
- MSFOu Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
- NN Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány (Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Section Ethnographica et Linguistica). Szeged.
- NyK Nyelvtudományi Közlemények. Budapest.
- Nyr Magyar Nyelvőr. Budapest.
- ÕEST Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Toimetised. Tartu.
- PUKS V Pomoshch Uchitelyu Shkol Kraynego Severa. Leningrad.
- S Suomi. Kirjotuksia isänmaallisista aiheista. Helsinki.
- SA Severnaya Aziya. Moscow-Leningrad.
- SE Sovetskaya Etnografiya. Moscow-Leningrad.
- SMAE Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii. Moscow-Leningrad.

- SS Sovetskiy Sever. Moscow.
- SSUF Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapetets i Uppsala Förhandlingar. Uppsala.
- STEP Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. Esitelmät ja Pöytäkirjat. Helsinki.
- TIE Trudy Instituta Etnografii imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklaya. Novaya Seriya. Moscow-Leningrad.
- TMAO Trudy Moskovskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva. Moscow.
- TTM Trudy Tomskogo Krayevogo Muzeya. Tomsk.
- UAJ Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. Wiesbaden.
- UJ Ungarische Jahrbücher. Berlin.
- UZKPI Uchenye Zapiski Karelskogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta. Petrozavodsk.
- UZLGU(FNS) Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta (Fakul'tet Narodov Severa). Leningrad.
- UZLPI(FNS) Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta imeni A. I. Gertsena (Fakul'tet Narodov Severa). Leningrad.
- Vir Virittäjä. Helsinki.
- VP Voprosy Psikhologii. Moscow.
- VY Voprosy Yazykoznaniya. Moscow.
- YPNS Yazyki i Pis'mennost' Narodov Severa. (Ed. G. N. Prokof'ev). Vol. 1. Leningrad, 1937.
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden.
- ZRGO Zapiski Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva.
- ZZSORGO Zapiski Zapadno-Sibirskago Otdela Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva.

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 1934.

Notes

1. In this list I have included only the independently published publications known to me; therefore, it cannot be considered a complete bibliography of the literature written in the Samoyed languages. Publications which appeared in the Latin alphabet are quoted as in the original. These works have a plus sign (+) before the author's name to distinguish them from works published in Cyrillic, the titles of which are given in transliteration.

2. The titles in brackets are in Russian and represent either the titles of original works translated into Samoyed or Russian equivalents of Samoyed titles.

3. Samoyed titles in Cyrillic in this book list are transliterated slightly differently from the other transliterations in this volume.

ERRATA

<u>page</u>	<u>line</u>	<u>reads</u>	<u>should read</u>
2	7 down	left	right
30	8 up	tribal... Selkup	clan... Enets
39	13 down	<u>máni</u>	<u>mañi</u>
43	12 up	<u>Wei-lie</u>	<u>Wei-lío</u>
44	11 down	Assin	Assan
48	2 up	tribal	clan
48	19 up	tribal	clan
49	9 down	tribal	clan
51	14 up	60,000	6,000
54	18 up	Samoyeds	Sayan-Samoyeds
58	6 down	Purim	Pur
58	7 down	Agam... Western	Agan... Eastern
58	9 down	Eastern	Western
59	14 down	<u>ŷ</u>	<u>ȳ</u>
59	15 down	<u>ṇāñi</u>	<u>ṇāñi</u>
64	3 up	<u>ḡ ~ Ẃ tibe</u>	<u>ḡ ~ Ẃ tibe</u>
71	12 up	<u>hānawntāñi</u>	<u>hānawantāñi</u>
74	16, 19 down	<u>kajṇalawa</u>	<u>kajṇalara</u>
75	6 up	'he receives, gets'	'day'
75	7 up	<u>tāmtā</u>	<u>tāmtā</u>
76	11 down	<u>-wlā</u>	<u>-wlā</u>
77	7 down	<u>-sā</u>	<u>-sā</u>
77	1 up	'I did/made (it)'	'I did/made'
78	9 down	<u>meqnynt tūlā</u> <u>pulā</u>	<u>meqnynt tūlā</u> <u>pulā</u>
79	10 down	Sibirtsey	Sibirtsev
80	20 up	Forest <u>w</u>	Forest <u>Ẃ</u>
80	16 up	<u>kajṇalawa</u>	<u>kajṇalara</u>
82	7 up	F. Klaproth	J. Klaproth
88	11 down	Delete the sentence beginning: "She has increased... etymologies."	
89	7 up	<u>videnskapsakadem</u>	<u>videnskapsakademi</u>
92	7 up	Ural. * <u>ḡ</u>	Ural. * <u>ḡ</u>
95	14 down	Lehnworter	Lehnwörter
95	17 down	paristimesta	päristimestä

<u>page</u>	<u>line</u>	<u>reads</u>	<u>should read</u>
95	18 down	Paleolinguis- tiikkamme	Paleolingvis- tiikkamme
100	6 up	Radanovics	Rédei (Radanovics)
110	9 down	<u>Iakhanako'</u>	<u>Lakhanako'</u>
110	19 down	Chapayera	Chapayeva
111	11, 13 down	Prokojew	Prokofjew